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HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE

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HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE

BY

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IN THE ANDOVER-NEWTON THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

NEW YORK

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1931

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Set up and electrotyped. Published, September, 193

SET UP BY BROWN BROTHERS LINTOTTERS
PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY THE FERRIS PRINTING COMPANY

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HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

ON the main street of a New England village stand six churches within a distance of half a mile. Farthest north a Gothic structure represents the dignity and beauty of Episcopalianism, while it stands close beside the road with an invitation to the wayfarer to enter and worship. Across the way in a generous setting of greenery a Congregational church preserves its ancient Puritan heritage in a stone meetinghouse modeled upon an English parish church. Within sight of both on rising ground a Methodist church, also in solid stone, maintains its evangelical gospel and keeps a watchful eye upon the Baptist church across the common. That Romanesque edifice is located advantageously in the village square where it may minister if it will to passing people. A stone's throw farther on the Unitarians built their house of worship on the site of a colonial cattle pound, and week by week their wayside pulpit reminds passers-by of the claims of religion and high morals. Just beyond at the end of the line rise the twin brick towers of Renaissance architecture of the Catholic church, with adjoining rectory and parochial school in the rear.

Church bells mingle their call to worship. Ministers on Sunday morning are almost within hearing of one another's sermons, while rival choirs make medley of their music. The churches are not mutually hostile. Their prayer and praise rise to the same God. Their faith and hope center in the same cross. On Good Friday evening all but the Catholics join in a common communion service. But they have differences of creed and polity and outlook that are survivals of periods of misunderstanding and insurgency and conflict, and much as they idealize Christian unity they cannot forget their differences. They are able to live in peace and a fair degree of prosperity because religious liberty is a national principle in America and because a denominationally minded constituency is willing to finance their needs.

If a wayfarer who passes them by in turn could visit an English

village of five hundred years ago, he would look upon a different scene. A single parish church was there, gray with age and green with ivy, enshrining the hopes and fears of all the people of the community and of those who once lived there but now sleep in the quiet churchyard. Living and dead have known no other faith but the Catholic for nearly a thousand years. Neither the local priest nor the bishop of the diocese nor the pope in distant Rome will permit heresy to gain a footing in the community, though a few Lollards may read their Wycliffe's Bible by stealth, for that bold preacher and translator has been dead scarcely fifty years. There is dissatisfaction among thoughtful folk with the conduct of some of the clergy and a questioning of certain tenets of the church. The Council of Constance recently has tried to bring about reforms, but has taken greater interest in burning John Huss for uttering independent opinions in Bohemia. The English Government no longer pays tribute to the pope as its political overlord, as it did two hundred years before, but his word is law in the Church, and, as people believe, in heaven. In the England of 1430 there were no Baptists or Congregationalists, Methodists or Unitarians, and those who believed in episcopal administration and churchly ritual gave their adherence to the Church of Rome. There was neither liberty nor denominationalism, and all the people paid their parish dues to finance the needs of the community church.

Let fancy wander back a thousand years earlier still. The village is gone from England, for twenty years ago the Roman legions left the island and civilization is falling into ruin there. Emerging from the German forests barbarous tribes have drifted across western Europe, devastating Roman provinces, pleased like children with the excitement of it all and gorged with the loot of city and countryside. Lawless as children were they and as careless of the future, fearing nothing but devils and sprites, yet awed by the Catholic clergy and superstitious at sight of the Christian cross. For there were priests and bishops then, and Rome was the center of Christendom, as for six hundred years before it had been the center of political dominion in the Mediterranean. And across the sea in North Africa Augustine of Hippo, who fixed the faith of the Catholic Church for a thousand years to come, foretold a papal reign as long and glorious as that of the pagan empire which was crumbling away.

The wayfarer may still go back for four hundred years more of Christian history and find its beginning in the person of Jesus of

Nazareth. There is no Christian church on the Roman hills or Christian prophet in North Africa. People bow at pagan altars or share in the mysteries that have come from the East to claim new votaries. Only the Jews stand aloof from the worship of many gods, and turn their faces to Jerusalem in hope that Messiah soon will sound his trumpet on Mount Zion in defiance of lordly Rome. And there on a Roman cross outside the city wall, where slow-burning fire consumes the public refuse, is dying a man who yearned to save his people and had visions of a Christian world, but fell victim to the hate of the leaders of an older church and the indifference of pagan Rome.

It is a long way across the centuries from Calvary to New England. Along the highway of history have gone the generations of Christian people. Some of them have caught clear visions of what Jesus meant by religion. More of them have passed unseeing, content only to be pilgrims to a better country, and putting their faith in the leadership of those who claimed to know the way. Busy about many things, they have cared little about chart or compass for directions, and docile as sheep have flocked along the trodden path. The road has led from Palestine to Rome, from Rome across Europe, from the Old World across seas and continents to the Far East and West. It still bears the name of The Christian Way. Its landmarks are the churches of the cross. Its distant goal is still the heavenly city. The story of the people who have passed along that way is the tale of people with the same needs and longings that the world still feels, meeting defeat but struggling on, winning victories and gaining fresh hopes, continually moving through the film of the passing years, because life is a panorama and change is law and the best is always on ahead. The history of the Christian people, dull and pathetic as it sometimes seems to be, is the story of the world's highest endeavor, a search for the Holy Grail under the inspiration of Sir Galahad, the white-souled leader of the long ago in distant Galilee.

* * *

The history of Christianity has been written hitherto in a conventional way, usually as the history of a Church which was unlike other social institutions in its sacred character. The main interest of church historians has been institutional or doctrinal. But the Christian religion was always a part of the life and thought of the people, of men and women who lived in the midst of a social environment

which compelled attention to business interests, to social relations, to customs and laws which determined much of their conduct, yet who were bound together by a common faith and hope and were affiliated with a church organization through which religion was expressed. Religion like people could not be kept free from the contacts of environment any more than it could escape its social heritage. It changed greatly as the centuries passed. It had to be adjusted to current thought and current social needs. It was affected by politics and economics. But as the needle of the compass points northward, Christianity always pointed to Jesus of Nazareth as its source and stimulus.

The history of Christianity is the story of the impact of religious forces upon human material, of ideas and aspirations struggling with traditional prejudices and preconceptions, of a spiritual flame smothered in one time and place and bursting out anew, never entirely quenched. It is the story of men and women absorbed as now by the tasks and excitements of every day, and of a few prophets and priests who are devoted to their vision or cultus. It is a story of mental attitudes and practical experiments, of hearts and hands as well as brains, of insights and ideals as well as traditions and fixed dogmas and rituals, of function as well as the machinery of organization, of extraecclesiastical as well as church history.

The history of the Christian people must be written with the same regard for accuracy and impartial treatment as the writing of any history. The scientific method of research, the sifting of evidence by the canons of historical criticism, the reaching of conclusions and the interpretation of facts by an unbiased judgment, are all necessary. It is necessary to remember that history is a genetic process, with a succession of causes and sequences from the past to the future, that it is not the product of great men alone but of the social mind, that human forces are in the main social, and that historic movements are due to powerful psychic tides moving many people at once, even though set in motion by an unusual personal leader. Necessary is it also to remember that religion is but one phase of human interest, and that with most people it receives only a modicum of attention and is the product of tradition rather than of individual persuasion.

The function of history is twofold. It is to present facts and to furnish a reasoned interpretation of the facts. Some histories are little more than chronicles or compilations of events; others are too

highly colored with rhetoric or philosophy and the facts become distorted. But basic as is accuracy in dealing with facts, no less important is correctness of interpretation.

This book is intended primarily for students, and therefore contains certain aids to study such as the general reader would not need, but it is adapted to wider reading. Since it is only a summary of a long story numerous references are made to other books which treat the various subjects more fully. In the selection of references at the ends of the chapters an attempt has been made to list books that are most likely to be found in theological libraries and which are most likely to fit the needs of students. The book is not intended as a guide to original research. Books in foreign languages have been omitted deliberately. Their great number and the limits of space, coupled with the difficulty which most students have in using them, and the access in theological libraries to monographs and encyclopedias with ample bibliographies, seem to justify the omission. Footnotes have been omitted altogether as unsuited to a textbook. Certain tables that have been added should prove useful for reference. Other studies than history make their contribution. Since nature conditions much of social action, physical geography is a necessary accompaniment to historical study. The insular position of Britain, the fertile isthmus of Palestine between Asia and Africa, the remoteness of China, have affected deeply the history of those countries. Archæology is an occasional aid when documents are lacking as corroborative evidence. Chronology keeps facts in order, makes it possible to see them in relations, and fixes exactly the most important events. The history of religion and its comparative study throw light on Christian ideas and practices. The social sciences of economics, sociology, political science and ethics, make it easier to understand the environment in which the people lived,¹ and psychology interprets human action.

Three factors enter into all historical study: (1) environment, geographical and social; (2) heritage; (3) the personal factor.

* * *

As the student may start from the present and trace back the course of history to its beginnings, so he may stand on the vantage point of origins and by a rapid survey of the whole may obtain a true perspective. Before entering on a study of periods the reader is invited therefore to scan the following.

PREVIEW OF THE HISTORY

The seeds of the Christian religion were planted by Jesus of Nazareth in the soil of Judaism. They sprang up in the hearts and lives of people who were steeped in Hebrew traditions and in the religious teaching of the Old Testament. They interpreted the teaching of Jesus in the light of the words of prophet and sage and scribe. It took the courage of a Jew of the Dispersion, Paul of Tarsus, to compare the teaching of Jesus with that of the Greeks and to find a platform on which Greeks as well as Jews could stand. He transplanted Christianity to Greek soil. Jewish Christians played a brief part in the story of the Christian people. After the fall of rebel Jerusalem to the Roman armies in 70 A.D. they were a negligible factor.

In the Greek environment people who accepted Jesus as their Lord found it necessary to explain him in language that intelligent pagans could understand. Religion had to be translated into terms satisfactory to those who knew the philosophy of Stoics and Platonists, and to be defended against rival religions and a hostile populace prejudiced in favor of its old paganism. While the doctrine of the incarnate Christ was being formulated so that the human and the divine in him could both be preserved, forms of worship and of church organization were also being adopted, and the gospel was being propagated all over the Roman Empire. A literature was being written, the best of which was collected into a New Testament and revered along with the Old Testament. In the process of interpretation Greek Christian thinkers, honored as Fathers of the Church, were making their several contributions, and synods and councils of church leaders discussed doctrines and wrought out creeds. By the middle of the third Christian century a universal ecclesiastical system had been worked out, which blended the spiritual and ethical teaching of Jesus with the intellectual theories of the Hellenistic mind, and the Christian people may be called with propriety Catholics.

Inevitably pagan ideas and practices had crept into the Catholic system. Many of the people in Christian circles as well as outside had been accustomed to ritual and sacrifice in their pagan youth, and it was easy to make such externals more important than the spiritual experiences of which Jesus talked, and which were so much more difficult to know at first hand. Immersed in the business and pleasure of the cities or occupied with the manual toil of the country, they had little time for meditation or mystical experience, and real

worship was not easily evoked. The result was that the Christians depended on the Church and the priest, and on the sacrament of the mass in order to maintain cordial relations with God, and they submitted to the discipline of the Church when they sinned. Against the growing prestige of the Church the Roman State showed intolerance, but early in the fourth century Christianity became a legalized religion, and by the end of that century paganism was taboo.

Meantime Christianity had been transplanted farther into the western Mediterranean lands. There in a Latin environment the growth of the system was somewhat different. The Western mind was more practical than theoretical, and the Christian development was less in theology than in ecclesiastical administration. The government of the Roman Empire served as a model for church organization. Bishops who at first had been overseers of single churches became directors of church affairs throughout a diocese, and archbishops superintended a whole province. With the growing freedom and popularity of the Christian religion crowds identified themselves with the churches and the stream of Christian life became still further polluted. This provoked a reaction in favor of more rigid self-discipline, which sent many men and women into monastic retirement that through contemplation and prayer and self-denial they might be sure of their spiritual salvation. Meantime the Bishop of Rome was rising to a position of superior importance until he became recognized as the pope, the head of Western Christendom. Roman Catholicism was to dominate western and central Europe for a thousand years. The Latins accepted the conclusions of the Eastern councils as far as they went, and Augustine in North Africa developed more fully the doctrines of God's relation to man. He also supplied a theoretical basis for the claims of the papacy. The authority of his mind dominated the thought of the West for a thousand years.

By the time the Christian Church had become firmly established the ancient empire of Rome was in decline, and by degrees it disintegrated as an increasing Teutonic immigration from the North honeycombed the provinces. Social control passed from the empire to the war lords of the German tribes. The Christian people had to share their religion with the immigrants, and they looked to the bishops, especially to the Bishop of Rome to protect them. Missionaries went among the barbarians and won whole tribes to allegiance to the cross. The pope commissioned the most successful of the mis-

sionaries and so cemented the new converts to the ecclesiastical system. Thus by a process of extension and consolidation the Church saved itself and transplanted once more the religion which had had its seed plot in the land of Palestine.

During the Middle Ages the Christianized folk of Europe were untrained as children intellectually. It was a rough age and the gentle spirit of Jesus was lacking. The people accepted implicitly the teaching of the Church, practiced the worship that was required, and submitted to the penitential discipline which the priest imposed. Some of the clergy studied in the monasteries, by and by a few of them ventured to express their opinions in scholastic discussion or even to gather a few pupils in a university hall, but the rank and file of the laity were ignorant, superstitious, and docile in the hands of their religious guides. Unfortunately those persons who held the highest positions in the Church became ambitious for more power, and were not always scrupulous in their methods of reaching after it. The papacy in its eagerness for supreme political power contested with the revived imperial authority wielded by the supreme lords of Germany. After a long struggle the papacy won, and in the thirteenth century was recognized not only as spiritual guide and head of the Roman Catholic Church, but also as political sovereign of western and central Europe. But the churches of eastern Europe had separated and maintained their own independent organization.

Hardly had the Church gained its advantage before new forces began to undermine its authority. The national spirit had been developing in France and England and they broke loose from the political control of Rome. The crusades against the Moslems had opened the eyes of the West to the superior civilization of the Near East and had made the thousands who had this broader education begin to think, a dangerous practice for those under authority. A social emancipation was taking place, as thousands of rural folk found their way to rising towns which were thriving on commerce stimulated by the crusades. In town schools and in the universities the eager minds of students were sharpened on the mental discipline of the newly discovered philosophy and science of the Greeks, and a renaissance of classical literature and art starting in Italy made its way over the Alps to France and Germany and England. Most ominous of all was a spirit of religious unconventionality and insurgency. The old monastic discipline was modified by the friars. The authority of the priest was discarded by certain groups of laymen for the Bible.

The accepted doctrines of the Church were called in question by heretics. Even the common people formed groups for mutual improvement without feeling it necessary to use the customary methods of the Church. And everywhere was an increasing dissatisfaction with the greed and ignorance and low morals of thousands of the clergy. Attempts were made to bring about reform but they failed. People were becoming very reluctant to pay good money to get to heaven by the crooked route of clericalism, and princes wished that more of the money which went south over the Alps might find its way into their revenues. In court and university, in city and village, even in the monastery, a spirit of insurgency threatened the sovereignty of the Roman Catholic system.

The sixteenth century brought the so-called Protestant Reformation. Luther, a Saxon monk, dared to attack the abuses of the System, and the people of Germany hailed him as their champion. Asserting the doctrine that the individual may make his peace with God by simple faith in Christ made the ecclesiastical paraphernalia unnecessary; most of northern Germany was speedily in revolt against the whole Catholic authority, and the movement spread into neighboring countries. In the Swiss cantons city after city introduced reforms in religion discarding traditional authority. In the city of Geneva Calvin, a French scholar, introduced a new system of church organization, simplified worship, and established a puritan discipline which extended among thousands of the French people, became the accepted religion of the Dutch and the Scotch, and profoundly affected the people of England.

In England the Reformation began as a revolt of the king, who made himself head of the national Catholic Church, but the same social factors were at work as on the Continent to make the Church of England Protestant. The forms of worship and organization were less changed, but the spirit of the movement carried the nation permanently away from Rome. Many persons were not satisfied with the conservative changes, and because they wished to purify the Church of all Catholic customs were called Puritans. Presently they joined issue with king and clergy to reform the Church further and to secure constitutional liberty in government, but they secured only temporary success in the first and had to wait for a slow development of liberty in the second.

These movements of reform and revolution were partly religious and partly political. Most of the Protestant churches became subject

to the authority of national governments instead of recognizing the principle of independency, which only the Anabaptists of Germany and the Netherlands saw to be the true principle of the Reformation. Wars, civil and international, were fought in the name of religion. Massacres revealed the spirit of intolerance which nearly all the people shared. The Catholic Church removed its worst abuses and the organization saved the ecclesiastical system from dissolution, but most of northern Europe had broken away from Roman leadership, as the Greek and Slavonic countries had done five centuries earlier.

Westward and northward the progress of Christianity had made its way. The Jewish Christians had kindled the torch and passed it to the Greeks. In their turn they had made their contribution and passed it to the Latins. Catholic missionaries had given it to the Teutons, and when it burned dimly they rekindled it. Now it was to be carried to a new continent where in a freer air it could burn more brightly still.

In the seventeenth century not a few Englishmen despaired of religious improvement or chafed against the restraints of the Old World and found their way to America. Gradually the coastal strip of territory there was fringed with colonies. In them various experiments were tried as in a laboratory until out of the crucible came religious and political freedom. Transplanted into American soil, the Christian religion took on new strength. Liberty produced rival denominations, but the individual could make his own approach to God. Crude ideas produced bizarre movements, but democracy prevailed. An evangelism which kept pace with the advancing frontier kept the people from becoming indifferent to religion. The missionary spirit created foreign missions. The need of trained ministers fostered education. Growing humanitarianism prompted philanthropy and social reform. These tendencies were not confined to America, but larger opportunities and less of the restraint of tradition made it possible for the Christian people of the West to achieve more than in Europe.

By the nineteenth century it seemed as if no unity were possible except under Catholic authority or the imposition of a state-controlled church. But Christian people tended to align themselves voluntarily into three groups. One of these was conservative in its loyalty to ritual and episcopal order and in general to traditional forms of thought. The second rejected the outward forms but clung to the

ancient theology, taking its evangelical doctrines from Luther and Calvin and depending on evangelism for its propagation. The third rejected alike the forms and the ideas of the other two and rationalized its religion, trying to fit it into the intellectual processes of the age, as had the ancient Greek Christians.

For the last hundred and fifty years these tendencies have prevailed. Catholics and Episcopalians have maintained the dignity and prestige of the old order. Evangelicals have kept the traditional theology and yet have reserved to themselves liberty to worship and organize as they please. Liberals in theology have kept pace with changing thought, have vindicated their liberty to think and speak, and yet have socialized religion by accepting the ethical implications of religion for social need. Along the frontiers of each has been a blending, and kindlier feelings have made possible increasing coöperation and even federation.

The rapid development of a modern civilization, the swift social changes, and the revolution in thinking which the modern sciences have produced, have necessitated modifications in religious methods and in human thinking. Greater efficiency has come in religious education, in church administration, and in provision for physical and social needs. An increasing number of Christian people have matched their religious thinking to the modernized ideas of the schools. Human relations are kindlier, and more people take seriously the gospel of Jesus. But the kingdom of goodwill which he came to build is still in process of construction, for religion is too often of the head or the hand rather than the heart. The devout are still praying: "Thy kingdom come; thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

* * *

Any division of the history into periods is an arbitrary matter. Historians differ according to their judgments of landmarks. But certain broad divisions are convenient. The following periods suggest chapters in the process.

I. *The Formative Period*, in the Mediterranean region. To c. 600 A.D.

During this period the Christian people had their origins in Palestine and their increasing contacts with paganism in the Roman Empire. They faced problems of adjustments that resulted from these contacts, had to determine their attitudes toward other religions

and their relation to the state, and fashioned their institutes of doctrine, organization and worship. The period may be subdivided into:

1. The Catholicizing Process. To 250.
 - a. The Apostolic Age. To 100.
 - b. The Growth of Catholic Tendencies. 100-250.
2. The Church and the Empire. 250-451.
 - a. The Struggle for Survival. 250-311.
 - b. Completion of Creed and Organization. 311-451.
3. Adjustment to New Conditions. 451-600.

II. *Roman Catholic Ascendancy*, in Western and Central Europe. 600-1300.

During this period the Christian people of western Europe came to acknowledge the dominance of Rome, first in ecclesiastical and then in political matters. By means of missionary monks the Church extended its religion and its authority over the regions beyond the old imperial frontier. It met a new rival in German imperialism, but brought it into submission and in the thirteenth century vindicated its supremacy. The period may be subdivided into:

1. Missionary Enterprises. 600-800.
2. The Feudal Church. 800-1050.
3. The Climax of Papal Power. 1050-1300.

III. *The Revolt against Authority*, in Northern Europe. 1100-1650.

During this period came increasing dissatisfaction with the ecclesiastical system, outspoken criticism by certain individuals and groups, and a rising tide of insurgency in government, society and intellectual circles. The problem that had to be faced was first, whether changes should be brought about through reform or revolution, and then how far religion should remain a corporate affair in which individual freedom had no place. Most of the Christian people found themselves members of national Protestant churches after they separated from the Roman Catholic Church, but before the period was over some had organized independent churches on a voluntary basis. Subdivisions may be made thus:

1. Awakening of National Consciousness. 1300-1536.
2. Social Changes in Country and Town. 1300-1536.
3. The Intellectual Revival. 1100-1536.

4. Religious Insurgency. 1100-1650.
 - a. Inside the Catholic Church. 1100-1517.
 - b. Away from the Catholic Church. 1517-1650.
 - c. Rise of Free Churches. 1600-1650.

IV. *Emancipation and Expansion*, in America and Beyond. 1650—

During this period the principle of toleration and then of freedom in religion gained recognition, denominations arose which were out of sympathy with sacramentarian churches and expanded to large dimensions in America, missionary movements carried the Christian gospel to pagan lands outside Europe and America, rapid changes in Christian thought took place in the nineteenth century, and religion became both more intelligent and more social. The period may be subdivided into:

1. Toleration and Indifference. 1650-1730.
2. Rise of the Evangelical Movement. 1730-1830.
3. Emergence of Rational and Scientific Thought. 1660-1860.
4. Current Tendencies. 1860—

* * *

The history of Christianity has been written many times since Eusebius, the bishop of Cæsarea in the fourth century, gained the title of the Father of Church History. His work was translated and continued by other writers in the East and the West. The first Christian philosophy of history was *The City of God* by Augustine of Hippo. This served as a satisfactory exposition of Christian ideals for many centuries. The Middle Ages contributed few histories of value. Monastic chronicles and lives of the saints were numerous, but Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of England* was of rare value historically. The Protestant Reformation produced the *Magdeburg Centuries*, a collection of damaging disclosures of Catholic shortcomings, published in Germany to show why the Reformation was needed. The Catholic Church was defended by Baronius who wrote his *Ecclesiastical Annals*, based on his findings in the Vatican Library, and by others who continued the story. Bossuet also defended the Church in his *Universal History*; Gottfried Arnold championed the heretics of history; Spanheim and Clericus contributed the critical spirit to their compendiums of Church history. Lesser men too often were controlled by a partisan purpose.

Mosheim, a German professor of the eighteenth century, enjoys

the title of the Father of Modern Church History, deserving it for his careful research, impartial exposition, fine appreciation, and clear expression in his *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History*. He was followed by his disciple Schroeck, who wrote a dependable *History of the Christian Church* in forty-five volumes, a vast reservoir of information but lacking in style. In the nineteenth century Gieseler contributed in his *Textbook of Church History* a running sketch of the history in three volumes, with copious notes from the sources. Neander, on a par with Mosheim, added a warmth of Christian feeling to the critical, intellectual treatments that had preceded without losing scholarly accuracy. He wrote a *General History of the Christian Religion and Church*. Baur, of the Tübingen school of critics, Hase, a German with a special appreciation of the æsthetic side of Christian history, Rothe, emphasizing Christian life, Kurtz, writing from the Lutheran standpoint, Moeller, careful though difficult in style, Sohm, the interpreter, and Harnack, the explorer and compiler, all made distinct contributions to the modern literature of church history. American historians have gone to school to Germany. A comprehensive, readable, and justly popular treatise published in this country is Schaff's *History of the Christian Church*, modeled upon the method of Neander. Sheldon, Fisher, Hurst, Newman, and Walker are later compilers, whose books have been used widely.

Twentieth-century historians have been trained thoroughly in modern criticism. Fewer general handbooks and more monographs on special subjects and periods have come from the press. Source books have been compiled for convenient reference. Series of volumes by different authors and of uneven value have made accessible the studies of specialists. References to many of these are made throughout the sections of this book. Much of the history of Christianity has been written without due regard for all the elements of the story. It has been treated as the history of doctrine. It has emphasized the propagation of religion by evangelism and missions, the sacramental and ritualistic system, or the literature of Christianity. Generally it has been discussed as a history of the Christian Church. But at a time when religion is regarded as an integral part of human life, it is studied better through people than through institutions, for the people make the institutions.

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CHAPTER II

THE CRADLE OF CHRISTIANITY

PALESTINE AND ITS PEOPLES

At the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean Sea lies a tiny land of hills and wadies, of rocky wilderness and blossoming plain. The fertile plain which fronts the sea rises to rounded hills as one moves east, but soon the traveler dips down into the gorge of the Jordan River, only to mount on the farther side to the high plateau which shades off into the desert. North and south the land stretches from the Lebanon Mountains which border Syria to the rocky wilderness southwest of the Dead Sea. It is a succession of hills with narrow, intervening valleys, becoming less fertile toward the south. Wedged in between the sea, the desert and the mountains, this narrow tract formed an isthmus between the continents of Asia and Africa, a bridge connecting two ancient civilizations. To the southwest lay the land of the Nile, where successive empires achieved unprecedented greatness in politics, in civilization, and in the fine arts. To the east around the bend of the Fertile Crescent that fringed the desert were the ancient empires of Babylonia, Assyria and Chaldaea in the Tigris-Euphrates valley, rivals in turn with Egypt. Their armies crossed and recrossed the bridge, and sometimes fought battles on the isthmus. Its small extent, its broken surface, and its exposure to invaders from every side, made it unfit for the seat of a permanent empire of its own. Such was Palestine, the Holy Land of the Jews, the cradle of the Christian people.

Neither scald nor sage has told what tribe of men first pitched a tent among those hills. Within historic time the Semites swarmed like bees beyond the desert horizon, and moving in successive migrations poured intermittently into the Tigris-Euphrates valley to the east, and spilled over into the western country of Syria and Palestine. They who thus overran the hills by the Mediterranean are known in ancient history as Phœnicians along the coast, Syrians in the broader background, and Canaanites south of the Lebanons. They learned to

cease their wanderings, to build cities, and to absorb the civilization of their imperial neighbors east and south. Later on sea peoples from the Mediterranean made room for themselves farther south along the coast, and left the Philistine cities as reminders of their prowess. From them came the name Palestine.

The land was unprotected from invasion on every side. In the expansion of the Egyptian empire Palestine was one of the first to feel the foreign power. When no threat loomed large on the horizon there was continual danger of petty incursions along the desert frontier. Bands of Bedouin from time to time raided outlying settlements, as Indians raided American pioneers, and vanished into the wilderness. About the year 1300 B.C. a horde of desert tribes from the Sinaitic peninsula penetrated into the lower Jordan valley, wrested a part of the hill country from the older inhabitants, and with an ambition to conquer the whole territory now that Egyptian political fortunes were declining, failed to vanish like the usual Bedouin. These were the Hebrews.

Akin to the other Semites and with the habits of the desert upon them, though some of them at least had been in contact with the Egyptian civilization in the region of the Delta, the invaders required time to make their adjustments with the new country into which they had come. Gradually by force of social interpenetration the Hebrews and the Canaanites fused. The Hebrews, though harassed at times by Philistines and Bedouin, built up a political state which reached its greatest success under the kings David and Solomon. Thereafter it split into two parts, Israel and Judah, whose kinglets fought Lilliputian wars with each other and with their Syrian neighbors to the north, until by and by both were absorbed into the rising empires of the Tigris-Euphrates valley. The Hebrews knew no more political independence for four hundred years, ruled in turn by Assyria, Babylonia and Persia.

It was the policy of the Assyrian and Babylonian governments to remove to Mesopotamia such persons as were liable to make any local disturbance, leaving the peasants to cultivate the land. The depleted population was augmented by settling foreigners in Palestine, resulting in such a racial blend as the Samaritans. After the Persians conquered Babylonia, Cyrus, their king, permitted Judeans to return to their southern province, but those who remained in the river country amalgamated with the Mesopotamian people. The Hebrews who returned henceforth bear the name of Jews.

POLITICAL FORTUNES

When Alexander of Macedon swept victoriously across the Near East in the fourth century before Christ and appropriated for himself the Persian dominion over subject peoples, the Jews in Palestine became part of his vast empire. Greek ideas and customs, of which Alexander made himself the custodian, were sown broadcast over the whole region. The conqueror had a vision of an expanded Hellenistic civilization in which the peoples and cultures of the Near East should mingle. His premature death broke up the unity of his empire, but the fusion of peoples continued. The empire of Alexander was divided among his leading generals, and Palestine soon became a part of the Syrian possessions of the Seleucid princes. Hebrew prophets had taught the people to think of themselves as a peculiar folk, while the Alexandrian principle was the unity of mankind. The Jewish ethnic consciousness was so strong that they yielded only partially to the Hellenizing tendency. In 168 B.C. they were brought to the test when Antiochus Epiphanes, their Greek ruler, in his enthusiasm for Hellenism insisted that the Jews should submit even their religious institutions to foreign cults. Severe persecution followed those who would not obey, and the rigorous policy drove the Jews into revolt. In the flash of a sword blade a sudden uprising under the family of the Maccabees precipitated the country into a war, and with surprising success the insurgents defeated the Macedonian armies and made good their independence for a hundred years (164-64 B.C.).

The government of Palestine became hereditary in the Maccabean line, but in time the princes yielded to personal ambition and became autocratic and quarrelsome. Within a hundred years the advancing power of Rome was dominating the Near East. In 63 B.C. the Roman armies occupied the country of Palestine, and it became a mere appanage of the Roman province of Syria. Idumeans from the arid south ingratiated themselves with the Romans, and in the turn of the wheel of fortune Herod became king in Jerusalem by the favor of Rome.

RELIGION

Seeing the shifting peoples and the kaleidoscope of politics, one would think Palestine a restless land, her people as impulsive and fortune as fickle as the streams which tumbled down the ravines in the spring only to dry up in the succeeding summer, her fortunes as

uncertain as the sunshine and storms of her Galilean lake. But a golden thread of constancy and continuity runs through the warp and woof of Hebrew story. It is the thread of racial pride, colored by a belief in the special favor of their God Yahweh. The Hebrews believed that they were descended from shepherd sheiks whose flocks once ranged over Canaan. They traced their twelve tribes to twelve sons of Israel, and called themselves the children of Israel. They looked upon Canaan as their Promised Land. Back by the slopes of Mount Sinai their leader Moses, who had taught them the rudiments of law, had made covenant for them with Yahweh. Henceforth they thought of themselves as his chosen people.

The conventional religion of the Hebrews had centered in a movable shrine known as the Tabernacle, where priests offered sacrifices from the flocks and herds of the nomad shepherds and herdsmen. Solomon erected a temple at Jerusalem as a permanent shrine of the national religion. No idol was there, only relics of the nation's past in the inner shrine, but the people believed that an invisible Presence hovered above the Ark. By degrees an elaborate ceremonial developed until minutely regulated ritual and sacrifice seemed the essential elements in religion. Psalmists, of whom King David was traditionally the chief, provided the psalter of temple worship. Sages discussed the problems of life and of faith which vexed the more thoughtful minds of the race. But from their earliest history the Hebrews at times wavered in their loyalty to their own Yahweh. In the peninsula they experimented with the bull worship of Egypt. In the land of the Canaanites they were lured away from their loyalty when it seemed as if the baals of the plains were more practically useful than the God of the hills. It was under such circumstances as these that Israel was summoned back to its old allegiance by the prophets. As spokesmen of Yahweh they rallied the people to the sacred shrine, warned them of the ills that would follow if they forgot their true Deity and his moral as well as ceremonial law, and step by step unfolded the meaning of religion and ennobled the character of God, until the Jews were able to contribute the loftiest religious ideas of antiquity to the mind of the Near East.

THE PROPHETS

Pioneer among the prophets was Moses. He faced Yahweh for the Hebrews when lightnings flashed from the cloud-capped mount of God. His confidence was his strength in battle with their enemies.

His anticipation of a better day for his people animated them with hope of future conquests. His insistence on right moral relations among the tribes was the backbone of the social ethics of the later prophets. Defender of the primitive faith was Elijah, standing alone at the altar of Yahweh on Mount Carmel and calling down fire from heaven as a witness of divine power against the popular priests of the heathen baals. It was he too who condemned the immoralities of the court of Ahab, king of Israel. Bold challenger of the luxury of those who had grown rich in the northern capital of Bethel was Amos, sheep tender of the southern hills, warning them that they must not oppress the poorer citizens or they would incur the punishment of righteous Yahweh. Micah demanded justice to the poor. Hosea spoke comfortingly to the erring. Isaiah in a time of national danger promised his people the watchcare of Yahweh, but called upon them to be holy as He was holy. Jeremiah found consolation for the fall of the kingdom of Judah in personal relationship to the Most High.

The Exile of the Israelites from Palestine was an impressive commentary on the predictions of the prophets. The Jews in Babylon grieved over their punishment and wept by the canals for their fate. Even then Ezekiel, combining the priestly and the prophetic emphasis, reminded them in mystic phrase that God would remember and save them from their sad fate, and when they were permitted to return sent them back to Palestine with reshaped law and ritual. And the greatest seer of them all, a second Isaiah, his name unknown, comforted his people with a vision of a God who not only cherished Israel but included in his horizon the whole of mankind, whose heart was as big as his horizon, and whose people were meant to be messengers of a true religion to a Gentile world.

JUDAISM AS A RELIGION

With the return of the few Jews to Palestine and the restoration of the Temple in Jerusalem a new emphasis was placed on the law of Yahweh and on careful observance of the ceremonial religion. Henceforth the priests carried out the ordained sacrifices, but losing the spirit of religion in the forms, they tended to become an aristocratic caste with more interest in their own fortunes than in the cultivation of real religion. Whatever political changes occurred the High Priest maintained his position as the highest dignitary of the state Church. In the later Maccabean period he was the real ruler

of the people, assisted by the wisest counselors of his race, chief of whom were the members of the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, which was the highest court of the Jews.

As the priest represented the ceremonial obligations of religion, so the scribe emphasized and interpreted the law of Yahweh. The people with their Aramaic speech needed interpreters of the law as it was recorded in the Hebrew Scriptures. The surest avenue of approach to the people was through the local synagogue. In every village and hamlet the synagogue was the school of religion and the gathering place of the people on the Sabbath. In his thought the Jew stressed the holiness and transcendence of Deity, and when practicable on one of the three great feasts of Passover, Pentecost or Tabernacles he visited the sacred shrine of the Temple at Jerusalem to worship and sacrifice, but the synagogue was the local reminder of his obligation to keep inviolate the law of God. The synagogue was to the Jew what the local church became to the Christian, only it was primarily for instruction rather than for worship. In the synagogue the law and the prophets were read, translated from Hebrew to Aramaic by an interpreter, and expounded in the absence of a scribe by anyone who was competent to instruct. The Old Testament scriptures, containing law, prophets and wisdom literature, kept the faith of the people in monotheism and the high standards of piety which were characteristic of the Jewish religion. The best thought of ancient times was enshrined in the Old Testament.

Altogether Judaism was the best religion that had been fashioned out of human thought and experience up to that time. It had a hope of national and even personal salvation. It stood for high moral principles. It preached the unity and holiness of God, and his claims on the human creatures whom he had made. The Jew gave to the world his stern moral code, his unconquerable faith in one God, a depth and variety of religious experience reflected in his matchless Psalter, and his undying hope that the best in human realization is yet to be. But before Jesus came the Jews had not been able, except through a few prophets, to declare with confidence God's love for the weak and erring. They had not become sure of a way of approach to God except through sacrifice and obedience to the law. They had little conception of the possibilities of spiritual fellowship with a heavenly Father who wished to reveal Himself to man and to reconcile him to His own will.

MESSIANISM

Racial pride, humbled by the successive subjections of the Jews to foreign governments, except for the Maccabean interim, kept alive among them a restlessness and dissatisfaction with the existing order. Through many generations they cherished a firm belief in a coming Messiah of David's line, the Anointed of God, who would break the foreign yoke, judge the nations including Israel, and usher in a new age of glory for Israel when he would reign over all people as God's representative. Or they thought that a heavenly being would come on the clouds to set up his kingdom. An apocalyptic literature, some of it included in an Old Testament Apocrypha and some left outside like the book of Enoch, reflected the national hope. Messianism was Jewish nationalism. It was an underground propaganda, like any revolutionary movement at first, but the literature was intelligible to those for whom it was written. Characteristic of the apocalyptic period was the catastrophic theory of sudden change. Lacking a philosophy of gradual progress and a long perspective such as modern science has supplied, people of that day looked forward to a dramatic advent of the Messiah.

Not all Jews thought alike about the kingdom that was to be. The priestly party of the Sadducees was more immediately concerned with currying foreign favor than with the messianic hope, and it was willing to compromise with the existing order of the Idumeans or the Romans if it could maintain its ascendancy. The Pharisees with puritan rigor hoped to see the removal of foreign influence and were the ardent supporters of the law and its traditional interpretation. They were popular because they stood for the Jewish ideals, but they were supercilious in their attitude toward the common people, believing that they themselves were destined to be the residuary legatees of the promises of Israel. They shared in the messianic expectation, but like the Sadducees they failed to see that religion is primarily a matter of spiritual attitude rather than of legal observance. The Zealots were uncompromising radicals who were ready to match their enthusiasm even against the mighty military forces of Rome. It was they who ultimately brought about the destruction of their holy city at the hands of the outraged Romans. Besides all these groups was a small minority of the "Devout," who cared less about an independent political state than they did for a revival of spiritual religion.

The center of Judaism was the city of Jerusalem, the ancient

capital of David and Solomon. It was located about thirty-five miles east of the Mediterranean, and was the residence of the Roman procurator after the Romans took over the political administration. Its beautiful temple was the shrine of all the Jews, and from it radiated a racial and religious influence which reached not only the Jews in all parts of Palestine, but those also who were dispersed in large numbers through the various cities of the Roman Empire. In that city of Jerusalem the family of Herod ruled as puppets of Rome until the mistress of the Mediterranean world made Pontius Pilate procurator of Judea in the year 25 A.D., lieutenant of the Roman governor of Syria who resided at Cæsarea. Judea was Pilate's care, a territory inconsequential outside of Jerusalem. Jerusalem was a reminder of the ancient glories of the race, and it was the hotbed of Jewish nationalism. The people swarmed continually through its streets and alleys, and when the national feasts were observed thousands came into the city to share the celebrations. Artisans and mechanics and tradesmen plied their handicrafts or solicited trade in their open shops, while rabbis taught Jewish lore in their schoolrooms or the Sanhedrin met for serious consultation. Outside the city were villages with their surrounding zone of open country, where shepherds and herdsmen tended their cattle on the hill pastures, and farmers and vine dressers husbanded their grains and fruits.

North of the province of Judea was Samaria on its fertile hills. There lived a kindred folk with large pagan admixture, disliked by the Jews because they were not of pure stock and avoided as far as possible.

THE EMERGENCE OF JESUS OF NAZARETH

In the north of Palestine was the district of Galilee, a highland country watered by streams that flowed from the Lebanon Mountains and with fertile plains which made agriculture profitable. It had been colonized more recently than the South by people less sophisticated and bigoted than the inhabitants of Jerusalem and its environs. A large population was tucked away in its two hundred villages and countryside. Its people were loyal Jews and visited the Temple in Jerusalem to share in its solemn ceremonies. They were impatient of Roman rule and like the Highland Scotch they were not averse to following the fortunes of a political pretender. They were a rural folk, farmers, shepherds, and vine dressers, with artisans and tradesmen in the villages. A lake, which added much to the beauty

of the region, furnished a livelihood to the fishermen, and on its shores were prosperous villages. Men worked at their handicrafts in the conventional way of their fathers; women met daily at the village wells and gossiped in the streets. On the Sabbath the people gathered in their synagogues to sing the psalms of David and listen to the reading of the law and the prophets. Their customs were common to the Syrians of that day and this. Through Galilee ran the highroad from Egypt to the East. Near Nazareth two trunk routes crossed, and there one came into contact with people from the four corners of the known world.

In that Galilean town of Nazareth about 25 A.D. lived Jesus, a young man of humble circumstances, a carpenter by trade, who was destined to make a stronger impression upon the history of the world than any Roman Cæsar. He was a thoughtful man, a lover of nature and of human folk, industrious, devout. As a boy he had been trained in the lore of his race in the home and the school of the synagogue, where a Jewish scribe interpreted the Old Testament. Like other Jews, he looked for the coming of a better day for Israel. Oftentimes he must have climbed the hill on whose slope the village lay, and looked off westward across the Kishon valley to the line of blue which marked the Mediterranean. From the hill of Nazareth one could follow the highroad lying like a ribbon across the Plain of Esdraelon. There Jesus must have pictured in imagination the battles of the nations which had been fought on that plain, and must have brooded over the fortunes of his people. Perhaps he was there when news came to him of a new prophet, who was preaching to curious crowds in the lower Jordan valley, proclaiming the near advent of the Messiah and baptizing those who would prepare themselves for his coming. The interest of Jesus was kindled, his purpose defined. He too would go to the Jordan and receive John's baptism. In him was dawning a consciousness of a greater mission than to manufacture furniture and repair rooftrees as his father Joseph had done. It was the beginning of his remarkable career.

Against the background of Jewish life and history the writers of the New Testament memoirs pictured the career of Jesus of Nazareth. It is only by inference that the annalist can interpret his mind before he started for the scene of his baptizing. From that time events moved rapidly enough to satisfy the Jewish craving for the dramatic. The consciousness of a special mission became clearer to Jesus at his baptism. His spiritual qualities were tested among the rocky hills

to which he withdrew in a desire to find himself. Making friends with certain of John's following, he gained his first disciples. Before long he was back in his home town of Nazareth. On the Sabbath he joined the village folk in the synagogue, where he had worshiped with them many times, and in whose school he had sat at the feet of a religious teacher.

In the heart of Jesus crystallized a simple faith in God and a love of his fellows, and it became his conviction that he must teach his people this gospel. Already he was a marked man, but he was too familiar a figure in Nazareth to be recognized as a prophet, much less as the long expected Messiah. When one day he spoke in the synagogue, his neighbors listened curiously to what he might say. He took as his text and the key to his ministry the well-known sentences of Isaiah: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord." He applied the words to himself, and boldly declared that it was he who was commissioned as a prophet to the lowly. His neighbors rose riotously against him when he applied messianic prophecy to himself, and from that hour he ceased to be a citizen of Nazareth. Capernaum, a busy town on the shore of the Lake of Galilee, became his point of departure, and his teaching and tireless service took him much afield. Most of his ministry through the months that followed was spent in Galilee, where he knew the people and where they were more open-minded than in Judea.

In Galilee he took up the task of every day as it presented itself. He shared in the joys as well as the sorrows of his friends and companions. As opportunity offered he interpreted the message of his gospel, whether to a single individual whom he met, to a group of disciples, or to a thronging crowd. He sympathized with the physical ills which harassed the people of the unsanitary East, and he had a remarkable power to cure. His healing became as real a part of his mission as his preaching. The wizardry of his personality and his healing touch drew throngs around him and won him followers. He chose for his intimates men and women of the common people. He talked religion always in simple language, illustrating his meaning by means of the familiar scenes of nature and social life. The main purpose of his life was to make his people see the inner meaning of

the expected messianic kingdom. Its spiritual qualities were his interest, not any political connections. He spoke of God as just and merciful, but expecting men to be righteous in their dealings. He revealed the loving heart of God to those who listened to him, and appealed to them to love and trust and obey him in their turn. His twin appeal was that human folk have goodwill for one another. The realization of that twofold purpose would be the establishment of the kingdom of God. A spiritual kingdom might not have the anticipated trappings of the Messiah's advent. It would not satisfy the racial pride and personal ambition of scribe or Pharisee. It would not rid the land of the hated Roman. But in the long run it would be more worth while, for a spiritual kingdom was the only kind that could last.

The significance of Jesus lay in his personality even more than in his religious teachings. As a man he was utterly unselfish, and he taught and healed unprofessionally and never for value received. He was unpretentious, yet he taught authoritatively. He had a personal magnetism that won him the loving fealty of his friends, and a shrewd common sense that gave him a hearing in all circles. He loved the common folk, and they heard him appreciatively, but he was equally at home with Nicodemus of the Sanhedrin or Simon his dinner host, and he had the right seed thought for them as for the woman of the street whom he treated with delicacy and told to go and sin no more. He had a remarkable facility for saying the right thing at the right time, and he spoke often in epigrams that stuck in the minds of those who heard him. He never minced words. His arrows were sometimes barbed, and they went straight to the mark. But he was kindly and considerate to those who needed help. His public career was short, but his name remained a power in the midst of Jewish life. He called himself a son of man; the Roman centurion who saw him die declared that he was a son of God.

The response of the people to Jesus was widespread. Men left their business to follow him when he invited them. Women and children joined the crowds which thronged about him as he followed the highway or lingered on the lake shore. They saw his remarkable cures of the sick and overwrought. They listened to what he had to say, expectant of a declaration of his messiahship. They pressed upon him sometimes as if they would make him king. He said some strange things, but they were willing to put up with his idiosyncracies if he proved to be the Messiah. They preferred revolution to evolu-

tion as a method of establishing the anticipated kingdom, when by parables he illustrated the growth of the divine kingdom, but they waited for the consummation of his purpose. The reports that reached Jerusalem put envoys from the ecclesiastical hierarchy on his track, and sometimes they heckled him. In Judea he was less popular than in Galilee. The priests and scribes were jealous of his popularity and resented his assumption of authority to teach religion. The Pharisees were critical of his attitude toward the Jewish law.

There came a day at Capernaum when Jesus declared plainly that he had come to give the bread of life, not the loaves and fishes of a day, and that his kingdom was of the heart and not of the material order. Then the crowd of hangers-on eager for favors turned their backs on him in heavy disappointment and his popularity waned. Before long he said farewell to Galilee.

THE TRAGEDY AT JERUSALEM

Jesus knew that the real test of his career lay in Jerusalem, not in Galilee. He knew that it was dangerous to go there with the growing hatred of the ecclesiastical leaders, and that his chances of success, if not of life, were slim. Yet presently he was on his way, timing his arrival for the religious feast of the Passover, when crowds of Jews from all Palestine and beyond would throng the Temple. There he would speak plainly and take the consequences. He was not overawed by his surroundings. He denounced sin as fearlessly as ever, in high places as in low. He gave his own interpretation of religion, even when it was different from that of officials of the Church. His teaching was dangerously upsetting, because he made the religious institutions of Jewry altogether secondary to a man's inner attitudes and moral actions. His social conduct was obnoxious because he was a leveler of classes, esteeming a rich man or a scribe of no greater importance than the meanest, poorest sinner. It was insufferable that in the kingdom of God which he talked about one must surrender all pride and privilege and actually love the peasants and the proletariat.

A legal system which regulated institutional religion and individual action, a tradition emphasized by the puritan party of the Pharisees, an inspired Scripture with rabbinical annotations interpreted by the scribes, and vested interests of the priestly class defended by the Sadducean High Priest, were all foundations of the ecclesiastical and social institutions which were Judaism. When Jesus

set his own authority against the law, flouted tradition, made new interpretations of Scripture, and defied the defenders of vested interests, he brought down upon himself the whole force of the System. For a man like him to presume to teach religion without the approval of the Jewish hierarchy was revolutionary, and to teach differently from the rabbis was sacrilegious. To prefer sinners to Sadducees and Galilean fishermen to the disciples of the Jerusalem schools, made him socially impossible. To stir up the Jewish people, notoriously unstable, was politically dangerous. The time came during the Passover when fortune favored the enemies of Jesus. One of his intimate disciples betrayed him, he was arrested, condemned by the fickle crowd, crucified by Pilate by the authority of Rome, and buried by his mourning friends. Henceforth to most Jews Jesus seemed an erratic reformer who had been rejected by his own people and condemned by the authorities, and as a heretic and troublemaker was well out of the way. They little realized what his name was to mean across the time and space of the world's future.

THE GOSPEL OF JESUS

To explain the unique personality of Jesus has been a perennial problem. To understand the secret of his power to move his contemporaries requires only to appreciate their dissatisfaction with the Jewish situation, their spiritual hunger, and the tendency toward insurgency. To explain the permanence of his religion one must recognize that he had a timeless spiritual message, a gospel of hope for a better future, and a trustworthiness, sturdiness and kindness of character which have made men believe in him always and everywhere.

His attitude of mind appears in three distinct aspects of his religion. These were an unconquerable faith in the goodness of God, a hope of a glorious future for mankind, and a spirit of brotherly kindness permeating life in all its human relations. Faith, hope, and love became the corner stones of the religious structure that he built.

To understand the significance of his teaching it is important to keep in mind the tenets of Judaism. Hebrew religion had developed far beyond the point where spirits dwelt in stones and trees. Yahweh was no longer a god of Mount Sinai, or a local presence within a temple shrine. He was God of the whole earth, throned in the heavens and having hosts of angels to do His bidding. He was king, lawgiver, judge, all in one. He exacted obedience to the law that

He had given, and He punished the infraction of every jot and tittle. The forgiving mercy of which Hosea had spoken, and the fatherly pity of which the Psalmist had sung had been lost sight of as a result of the experience of the Exile and the stern teaching of the scribes and priests. But Jesus spoke of God as a Father who loved Israel rather than condemned her, and who cared for the least among men as an individual. He spoke as the representative of God when he invited the weary and heavy laden to come to him, and even welcomed children as members of the divine household. One could not doubt that Jesus knew what he was talking about, for he was so intimate with God. He prayed reverently but familiarly to him, and he taught his disciples to say: "Our Father." The people were not ignorant of their faults and they feared the penalty of their sins, but they knew of no way to escape, unless it was by means of an offering at the hands of a priest. Jesus banished forever the pessimism of the sinner when he told the matchless story of the Prodigal Son. That picture is stamped upon the imagination of mankind.

His teaching about man was no less revolutionary. Primitive man regarded himself as the football of "mana." The ancient Greek believed that the gods were jealous of a man who was happy and prosperous. Current Judaism taught that sinners were outcasts. Jesus declared on the contrary that God loved every man and brooded over him, that even the hairs of his head were numbered, that he was of more value than a sparrow, yet God cared for the smallest needs of a bird. Jesus taught the dignity of man as a child of God, and the infinite possibilities of human nature when ruled by the spirit of God. Man's attitude toward God therefore was not to be that of a cringing beggar or criminal, but rather of a trustful son or daughter rejoicing in his heritage, and grieving when by unkind thoughts or wrongdoing he has saddened the heart of his father.

Such teaching might have made people careless of right and duty in their reaction from the stern necessities of the law, and irreverent in their attitude toward God, but Jesus never permitted a lack of respect toward God. It might be true that God was near and friendly, but He was a holy Spirit, and those who would approach Him must come reverently.

The Jewish law prescribed ritual and sacrifice. So had every religion from time immemorial. A man could not expect a divine blessing or even goodwill unless he gave an equivalent. As a member of Jewry he was in the toils of a relentless system of expiation and

atonement. He must repeat scheduled prayers. He must fast as an ascetic. He must give alms for the good of his soul. He must support the ecclesiastical system with its local synagogues and its Temple at Jerusalem. He must be present, if possible, at one of the feasts at Jerusalem, and make offering to the priest according to his ability. Jesus did not sweep all these away, but he made it plain that the value of them was in the motive that lay back of the act. It was always the inner attitude of a man which he stressed, and he minimized the ceremonial act because he knew how easy it was to make it do duty for the far more difficult spiritual attitude.

ETHICS OF GOODWILL

The religion of Jesus included moral obligation, and he raised that obligation to a high plane by making it a thing of the spirit rather than of the act. He was always testing conduct by motive. To him the attitude of brotherliness was far more important than the act of charity. He knew that such social sins as the treatment of women and children as inferiors, the oppression of slaves, and the stratification of society into classes, were the consequence of a failure to recognize the rights of personality in every human being. He knew that sin and crime were the result of brooding upon wrongs real or imagined, and bearing a grudge instead of forgiving the wrongdoer. Forgiveness was a primary virtue. Let a man first forgive his brother and then offer his gift at the altar; let him forgive his debtor, if he expects God to forgive him. Finally he raised the whole subject of brotherly love to the highest level when he told his disciples to love one another as he had loved them.

In the parable of the Good Samaritan Jesus illustrated his idea of disinterested goodwill, as in the parable of the Prodigal Son he showed what divine love meant, and he declared love to be the fulfilling of the moral law. Jesus was not a social revolutionary in the sense that he promulgated a program of social reform and tried to enforce it, but he uttered principles that if adopted by society would revolutionize it. The kingdom of God about which he often spoke must be composed of men of goodwill, and it could not come until the spirit of goodwill was working like leaven in a measure of meal. The kingdom of heaven was like a pearl of great value, worth surrendering all else for the sake of the peace and the prosperity that could be had only at the price of universal goodwill. Jesus had nothing to say about industrial relations as we know them, nothing about

international relations or racial rivalries, but he laid down a social principle that would transform suspicion and fear and hatred overnight. The religion of Jesus was a religion for humane folk.

The man who believed in the good sense of Jesus accepted these principles for himself, and found life full of new satisfactions. It was the springtime of his soul. Loving God and his fellows he found real happiness, no matter what his station in life. That was living. It was true as Jesus had said that he who put faith in him already had life that lasts, life that was the real thing. And such returns from the investment of goodwill would continue as long as the spirit functions. Jesus defined eternal life in terms of quality rather than of extension.

It mattered not how inconsequential Jesus was in the empire of Rome, or how few were his disciples. He planted seeds in human hearts which would break the crust of sin and ignorance as the roots of a tree break the solid rock. He gave people to drink of a living spring which would well up within them to sweeten and refresh the days of spiritual drought. Others had built temples and organized priesthoods and formulated laws for religion. Jesus created religion and gave it power to grow in men. To do this was divine, for it is the most that God can do. It is not strange that his disciples came to think of him as the only begotten Son of God.

SUMMARY

In Palestine matured the best religion that antiquity produced. Systematized by the priests and moralized by the prophets, Judaism hardened into an institution which did not welcome new aspects of truth. The people looked for a Messiah who should restore the glory of Israel, but when he came they did not accept him. Jesus of Nazareth taught and healed in kindly ministry, but he went to a Roman cross because he was unconventional and uncompromising. He left as a legacy a gospel which at first seemed like a reformed Judaism. At the zero hour of his death it would have seemed preposterous to dream of a world conquest by his gospel. What could an unsuccessful attempt at a reform of the Jewish Church have for Gentiles? The life of Jesus was but the mustard seed of his kingdom, but it proved too expansive for a Jewish matrix. The child soon outgrew his cradle.

QUESTIONS

(These may be assigned as an inductive approach to the text, or they may be used as a test after study or lecture.)

For study

1. Which one of the Hebrew prophets was most closely akin to the spirit of Jesus? Show it from the sources.
2. Can you bring together evidences of the contacts of Jesus with others than Galileans and Judeans, and construct a story of those contacts?
3. What was the geographical setting, both physical and political, in which the Christian people had their cradle?
4. Would the Hebrew people have any place in history if they had had a religion of polytheism like the other peoples of the Near East?
5. What were the roots of the religion of Jesus?
6. What were the forces that would rally in opposition to novelties of religious teaching?
7. What are the outstanding events in the life of Jesus?
8. What are the evidences of a deepening consciousness of failure on the part of Jesus?
9. What did Jesus say about himself as reported in the Gospel according to Matthew?
10. Is the gospel of Jesus in essence one of attitudes, deeds or beliefs? Give reasons for the position taken.

For class discussion or debate

1. Was Jewish religious tradition an asset or a liability to the primitive Christians?
2. Was the death of Jesus essential to the success of his gospel?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. The city of Jerusalem in the time of Jesus (with diagram).
2. The Pharisees.
3. The career of John the Baptist.

For longer written essays

1. The historical geography of Galilee (with map).
2. A comparison of the racial traits of the Judeans and the Galileans.
3. The teaching of Jesus about the kingdom of God.
4. Jesus a problem for the Pharisees.
5. The thought of Jesus about himself.
6. History of the phrase, "the Son of Man."

For conference with the instructor and general examination

1. Jewish sources of the ethics of Jesus.

For maps and tables

1. An outline map of Palestine marked with the principal scenes in the life of Jesus.
2. A chronological table of ten leading events in the Hebrew history of Palestine.

READING REFERENCES

Sources

The Old Testament

CHARLES. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament

New Testament: The Gospels

STEVENS and BURTON. Harmony of the Gospels.

Secondary Guides

SMITH, G. A. Historical Geography of the Holy Land

KENT. Biblical Geography and History

—— History of the Hebrew People

RIGGS. History of the Jewish People

ROBINSON. The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament

MITCHELL. The Ethics of the Old Testament

FAIRWEATHER. Background of the Gospels

SCHURER. The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ

MATHEWS. New Testament Times in Palestine

—— The Messianic Hope in the New Testament

KENT. The Life and Teachings of Jesus of Nazareth

ANDERSON. The Man of Nazareth

WEISS. Life of Christ

SANDAY. Outlines of the Life of Christ

WENDT. The Teaching of Jesus

BUSHNELL. The Character of Jesus

LOOFS. What is the Truth about Jesus Christ?

MOFFATT. Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament

HASTINGS. Dictionary of the Bible

—— Dictionary of the Apostolic Church

CHAPTER III

THE GOSPEL AMONG THE JEWS

THE RECOVERY OF MORALE

To all outward appearance the death of Jesus marked the end of one more attempt to stir the religious consciousness of the Jewish people. Jesus belonged to the line of the prophets rather than of the priests. In much he was unique. None before him had spoken with such personal authority, as if he were God Himself. No prophet in Israel had lived so self-forgetful a life judged by his kindly ministries. But his spirit and his message were akin to those of the later prophets, and his end had been similar to theirs.

The shock that came to the closest friends of Jesus when they found that he really had died was overwhelming. Jesus had forecast his death, but they were slow to believe it. They had expected to the last that he would save Israel from foreign servitude, and he had failed to make good their expectation. But their hope died hard. They caught at the stories of his resurrection. One after another had evidence which satisfied him that Jesus had risen from the grave. They gathered secretly to talk over their hopes and fears, and when they were convinced that they should see him no more in the flesh they cherished eagerly the belief that before long he would come a second time to establish his delayed kingdom. His resurrection had vindicated him as the triumphant Messiah. Presently they felt a resurgence of joy and a conviction that the spirit of God was with them. From that time they looked upon themselves as the true Israel, the remnant that was to save the race, according to the ancient prophecy. To them was the promised future as a community endowed with the supernatural power of the divine Spirit. Each member of the community of disciples by putting his faith in Jesus as the Messiah made him the Master of his life and became a member of the kingdom which was just over the horizon.

THE COMMUNITY OF JESUS IN JERUSALEM

The first disciples do not seem to have separated from the Jewish Church. Those who remained at Jerusalem, including the Twelve

who constituted the inner circle of the disciples of Jesus, continued to worship in the Temple and to observe the Jewish law. They had no thought of organizing a rival church. All they had to do was to wait for evidence of the Master's return. Little by little other Jews became convinced that Jesus was the Messiah. Then the leaders of the disciples made a drive on the callous soul of Jerusalem and won many who became members of their religious community, visiting Jews from foreign lands as well as residents of the city. They met in private houses for prayer and conference, and were guided in their thinking by those who had known Jesus most intimately. The impulsive Peter was their natural leader in the days of their initial enthusiasm and expectation, but they had no church officials. It is probable that the Twelve were considered best qualified to testify to Jesus as the Messiah and to carry his message of reform to their own people. Yet strangely enough only legend bears any record of most of them, and the most active spokesmen of the movement were men of another sort.

The appeal of the Gospel won most ready response from Jews of foreign birth, who were spoken of as Hellenists. Many Jews of the Dispersion were living in Jerusalem, some doubtless because they were attracted to the religious center of Judaism. But they had felt the broadening influence of the Hellenistic environment, and they were less provincial and so readier to accept new interpretations of religion while they still kept the old ritual, as did the first disciples of Jesus. In the flush of the initial enthusiasm an unwonted spirit of generosity made the disciples in Jerusalem share their property freely. Their possessions would be inconsequential in the new order which was expected so confidently. But in the distribution the Hellenists complained that they did not get their fair share, and it became necessary to appoint seven men as their representatives. The Seven are the first officials of the Christian community with the special function of dispensers of charity, but actively engaged also in propagating the faith among their own class. Stephen and Philip were conspicuous among them. Other than these there were no elected officers. No need of organization was felt in a brotherhood which was directed by the active spirit of God and which was temporary in character. There was no fixed order of religious exercises at their meetings, but in Quaker fashion persons spoke or prayed as they were impelled by the Spirit. There was no need of a formal creed, for their faith was simple. They believed in Jesus as the Messiah and in

the Father of whom Jesus had spoken. They had confidence that the kingdom which he had promised would not fail. They practiced the simple initiatory rite of baptism, by which the convert confessed his faith and became one of the brotherhood. In their household gatherings they shared daily a common meal with joy, and as a part of it took a piece of bread and a cup of wine in memory of the last supper of Jesus and his disciples in a certain upper room in the city. These two practices, baptism and the Lord's Supper, simple and natural as they were at first, were to become rigid ordinances with sacramental values.

Expectant as the disciples were about the future of the religion of Jesus, they did not dream of its ultimate reach. They were humble folk of the working people of Jewry, the weary and heavy laden who had responded to the strength and comfort which Jesus offered. They went about their occupations during the daytime, glad if they could get together for the evening meal. They walked about the streets where Jesus had walked, moved through the courts of the Temple where he challenged the hostile churchmen, looked out upon that hill outside the city wall where the Cross of Jesus had stood, and longed for the day of deliverance. They were mistaken in their expectation of a Jewish kingdom. They would not have understood if they had been told by a prophet that the seeds of the Gospel which were being sown in Jerusalem would spring up for a world harvest. They were but the husbandmen of the first season; it was their humble but essential task to see that the seed corn was preserved.

JEWISH HOSTILITY SCATTERS THE DISCIPLES

The disciples of Jesus for some time were regarded favorably by the people, and the authorities looked upon them as harmless fanatics. Exhorters were shut up several times at the instigation of the Sadducees when their speechmaking threatened disturbance. But as time passed and the number of believers multiplied a clash with the old order was sure to come. The occasion arrived when Stephen, one of the Seven, was arrested and brought before the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem for preaching among the Hellenists that the spiritual religion of Jesus was more important than the letter of the Jewish law. To question the validity of the law was blasphemy, and on that indictment he was condemned in the minds of those who heard him and was stoned to death. Judaism had defended itself. The followers of Jesus must conform or take the consequences.

The death of Stephen was the signal for active persecution of the nonconformists. Search, arrest, and execution became so frequent that they fled from the city for safety. Through Judea and Samaria they scattered, carrying with them the Gospel of Jesus. Stories which had been told by those who had been in Jerusalem at Pentecost were reiterated by the fugitives. The people of Samaria had their own temple and were not on good terms with the Jews, but they looked for the same Messiah. They became so stirred that Peter and John, who had remained in Jerusalem with the more conservative of the disciples of Jesus, went north to investigate, and they confirmed the faith of those who were believing in Jesus. Hundreds of disciples had remained in Galilee from the first, so that Palestine became honeycombed with the new heresy. The news traveled to the Mediterranean coast towns and northward into Syria, including the cities of Damascus and Antioch, where many Jews had settled. In Damascus so many were being converted that Saul, an agent of the persecutors at Jerusalem, started for that city to set up an inquisition there, only to be smitten with a conviction of his sin in persecuting the followers of Jesus. Peter was asked by a God-fearing centurion in the Roman army to come to Cæsarea, and his experience convinced Peter that a Gentile might become one of the Christian people. Antioch already had an organization of disciples which included both Jews and Gentiles, and there the disciples of Jesus were called Christians for the first time.

It is not likely that very many Palestinian Jews accepted the "Way" of Jesus. Most of the Palestinian folk who had paused in their work for a moment to see Jesus and his disciples pass by or had joined the crowd with curiosity to hear what he would say or watch what he would do, lost interest now that he was gone and the anticipated kingdom had not materialized. Only a few could be weaned from their traditional beliefs. But wherever small groups of believers came into existence they served as nuclei to which new recruits were attaching themselves continually. These groups were brotherhoods in mutual fellowship and charity, churches in embryo, bound together in a common loyalty and a common hope. They accepted the guidance of those who had been acquainted best with Jesus and his disciples, and listened to self-appointed prophets and teachers who were believed to be filled with the Spirit of God. Thus Palestine and its vicinity were being evangelized.

RELATION BETWEEN THE OLD RELIGION AND THE NEW

Apparently the conservative disciples who included the Twelve had been loyal enough to the old religion to escape the consequences of the first persecution. But presently they too were assaulted. James, one of the three intimates of Jesus, was executed and others of the Twelve had to flee. The persecution was brief, and the headquarters of the conservatives remained at Jerusalem, where James, the brother of Jesus, was the recognized leader.

The differentiation between the conservative and the liberal Jewish Christians and the extension of the new faith even to Gentiles precipitated two questions. What was the true relation between Christianity and Judaism? and Was it proper that non-Jews should be evangelized? The whole problem of the survival of the Christian movement was involved in the first; the problem of its growth was involved in the second.

Christianity was a flower that had bloomed on a Jewish stalk, but it was more than a reformed Judaism. There were important differences. Judaism was legalistic. To keep the law of Israel was the first duty of a Jew. But Christianity stressed the inwardness of religion, and was dynamic rather than static in character. The Jew was hedged about by ceremonial regulations, and the individual was subordinated to the established order. The Christian had no established order, and was under the law of Spirit rather than of a Church. Judaism was an ethnic religion. It had attracted many proselytes in the Roman Empire by its monotheism and its ethical teaching, but they had to be initiated into Judaism as adopted sons if they would be fully its beneficiaries. Christianity could not be bound by racial lines. It was broad as humanity, free as air, and noble in quality as any teaching that the world had known. Reluctant as the Twelve and other conservatives might be, it was inevitable that the freedom, progressiveness, and universal appeal of the religion of Jesus would burst the straitjacket of Judaism.

THE NEW LEADER PAUL

The future expansion of Christianity depended largely on leadership. The Galilean leaders of the Jerusalem community lacked imagination and mental breadth. The world of their experience was Palestine, and their vision was limited by the narrow horizon of Judaism. More progressive, better trained leaders were needed, men

of the schools whose thought would have wider scope and men of affairs who could interpret religion in terms of human life in the midst of the cosmopolitan society of the Roman Empire. Such a leader must be a man of feeling as well as thought, who knew from experience the power of Jesus to transform and enrich life, who had the mystical temperament and so knew how to tap the sources of spiritual power, and who had a mind that could shape the concrete teaching of Jesus into intellectual forms that would appeal to thoughtful people acquainted with current ideas about religion.

The need was met most conspicuously by Saul of Tarsus, better known by his Roman name of Paul. Paul was well fitted for such a task. Jewish by birth and training, he was reared in a Greek city, and he inherited Roman citizenship. He was a Pharisee and had been a persecutor of Christians at Damascus, but arrested in his career he had become a believer in the teaching and character of Jesus. Though at first distrusted by those whom he had opposed, his abilities brought him to the front, and after several years he was commissioned as missionary at large by a conference of several members of the Church at Antioch.

JEWES OF THE DISPERSION

It was natural that the Christian evangelists should tell the story of Jesus to men of their own race first of all. The first missionary movement had been to the people of Palestine. The second would properly go among the Jews of the Dispersion. Perhaps six times as many Jews were living in other provinces of the empire as in Palestine. In that marvelous expansion of life which had come to the Near East from the Hellenization of thought and custom which followed the conquests of Alexander of Macedon, the Jews like other peoples of that time had found their way to all the shores of the Mediterranean, and had established for themselves new homes and new lines of business in many marts of trade. They swarmed in the large cities. Antioch was running over with Jews. A third of the people in the great city of Alexandria were Jews. Busy as they were with their material concerns, they did not lose their interest in religion. They clung to their ancestral faith and shared in the hopes of the race. If they could not visit the Temple in Jerusalem, they were interested in the news of religion there, and rumors of the crucifixion of Jesus had gone abroad. They were a field ready for the sowing of the Gospel. Their synagogues were organized wherever a group of

Jews could be brought together. Many of these Jews of the Dispersion had acquired wealth and were persons of influence. Gentiles who admired the Jewish religion were attracted to their synagogues. It was reasonable to believe that Christianity might gain rapidly if it could find a foothold in such religious groups.

Paul was a missionary statesman. He saw the advantage of planting the new faith in strategic centers from which it could spread easily into neighboring territory. He was ready to go to the Diaspora and the God-fearing Gentiles, because he had grown up in that environment in Tarsus. Perhaps he had evangelized among them already in Cilicia and Syria. The Christian group at Antioch gave him a new leverage, and that city became the point of departure for wider evangelism.

THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY

The city of Antioch was located in Syria on the river Orontes twenty miles from the sea. It had been built during the progress of Hellenism in western Asia three hundred years before Paul. Favorably situated for commerce, it had attracted many immigrants. With Rome and Alexandria it ranked among the largest cities of the empire. It was the capital of the Roman province of Syria. It was located strategically for the extension of Christianity. As Jerusalem had sown the seeds of Jewish Christianity through Palestine, so Antioch was the seed plot of Gentile Christianity.

The field of opportunity was wide. Northwest of Antioch lay the broad area of Asia Minor with many populous towns and cities. Ephesus was a strategic center on the west coast. Beyond across the Ægean Sea were Macedonia and Greece. Athens was there, long the finishing school of ambitious students throughout the empire. Corinth was there, one of the prominent ports of the Mediterranean trade. Farther on was Italy with Rome itself. East of Antioch lay Mesopotamia, the ancient land of Jewish exile, and beyond were Persia and India.

Southwest of Antioch and Palestine was the equally ancient civilization of Egypt. Alexandria, built by the Macedonian conqueror with keen foresight of its importance, was the second city of the empire, the grain port of the Nile valley, the center of trade for a vast area of country, and the home of swarms of Greeks, Jews, Egyptians, and other peoples. Alexandria was a center of education as well as commerce. In the days when the originality of the Greek

mind had spent itself Alexandrian scholars created the critical period of Greek scholarship with their grammars and commentaries, and students came from everywhere to its renowned university. In Alexandria Oriental and Greek thought blended and the syncretistic product was taught in its schools. When the old Hebrew tongue became a dead language to the Jews of Alexandria, they kept their Old Testament Scriptures usable by translating them into Greek. It is not easy to estimate the importance of that Septuagint version of the law and the prophets in preserving the loyalty of the Jews throughout the empire. Greek was familiar to all as the language of literature and international trade; it served the religious purpose of the Jews, and it was to become the medium of Christian propaganda. In Alexandria Philo, a Jewish contemporary of Jesus, wove together the ancient wisdom of his race with the philosophy of Greece, and contributed ideas which were to have a profound effect on Christian theology. Neoplatonism there made the last stand of cultured paganism against the Christianity which threatened its destruction. It is not known when Christianity made its way to Egypt, but the church in Alexandria became prominent among the early Christian centers, and later its catechetical school was the most famous educational institution of the Christians.

West of Alexandria was Libya with its Greek cities, and beyond were the teeming cities of North Africa, of which Carthage was the chief. There Christianity might hope to build itself into the life of the West. Farther on were Spain and the limits of the known world. The authority of Rome kept these far-flung provinces in peace, the highway of the sea led to them all, and well-built Roman roads ran from city to city and to every frontier. If Christian missionaries like Paul could see their opportunity, Christianity might travel fast and far to victory.

THE CONFERENCE AT JERUSALEM

With a splendid optimism Paul could visualize some at least of the opportunities which lay ahead. Jewish though the story of Jesus would seem, it might well have its appeal to people who cherished hopes of salvation for themselves through adherence to one or another of the savior gods who were currently popular in the Near East. Jews might be expected to react still more quickly to the tales about Jesus. Accordingly Paul left Antioch about the year 47 in company with Barnabas, who had been his champion at the time Paul

visited Jerusalem for the first time after his Damascus experience. The missionaries sailed first to the island of Cyprus and then crossed to the mainland of Asia Minor. Striking the Roman road which ran parallel to the coast they turned eastward and visited several prominent cities where Paul preached and won converts. Then he retraced his journey to Antioch.

Paul made the expedition with no credentials that would give him a public hearing, but he reached both Jews and Gentiles with his message. To the Jews he pointed out that Jesus fulfilled the promises of Messiah, except that he had not yet established his kingdom. To the Gentiles he appealed in the name of a risen Christ, the Son of God, who could save them from the future judgment which they feared alike with the Jews. He was dogged by hostile Judaizers, who resented the inclusion of Gentiles in the benefits of salvation, and they did not hesitate to incite local rioters who handled Paul roughly. These experiences, together with the evident interest shown by the Greeks and other proselytes whom he had met, determined Paul to go directly to the Gentiles.

It seemed to him wise to get the indorsement of this plan by the Jerusalem community of Christians. He could have gone his own independent way, for the Jerusalem Church had no jurisdiction over other Christians, but it enjoyed a prestige greater than other groups, and it was best to preserve harmony. He therefore went to Jerusalem after his return from Asia Minor, told his story of Gentile beginnings to the leaders there, and urged a generous policy. It was a significant occasion, for it was to determine whether the leaders among the Jewish Christians would be too racially proud to admit others than Jews to share in their religious discoveries. They were naturally more conservative than Paul, but he had a moving story and after extended discussion a compromise was reached. Later in a public conference the Jerusalem Christians agreed that Paul should be free to preach to the Gentiles, and that nothing more should be required of the converts than certain abstinences, but it was decided that Palestinian Christians must keep the rules of Jewish law. This conference met about the year 50. The compromise was a simple arrangement wherever Gentiles and Jews were separate, but in the case of mixed groups it was a question how far the Jewish law was binding. Upon a visit of Peter to Antioch he and Paul differed acutely on the matter, a difference which resulted in the permanent decline of Peter's influence.

THE METHODS OF PAUL

Thus fortified Paul undertook a longer journey, which carried him through western Asia Minor and across the Hellespont to Macedonia, and so down into Greece as far as Corinth, where he remained for many months. Then he returned nearer to his base of operations. Ephesus was a convenient center for Christian propaganda in western Asia Minor. That he might not be dependent on others for support and possibly as an example of diligence, Paul worked at his trade of tentmaking, preaching between times to groups of people, or conversing with those who would listen to him after the fashion of street preachers of morals. He made converts of Jews and Gentiles both. When he found it impossible to visit the groups of his disciples at various points where he had been, he sent other men like Timothy to direct their religious interests. On occasion he wrote letters of encouragement and advice, explaining points of religion or moral conduct which were not clearly understood or needed emphasis.

It was not easy for a Greek to get the point of view or accept the standards of a Jewish teacher. In gay Corinth moral obligations sat lightly, and it required strong words from Paul to impress the Christians with their laxity of conduct. In Athens Paul tried to meet the intellectuals on their own ground, and to find a common basis for their theism and his Christianity, but he met little response. Others were affected by current religious and philosophical discussions in pagan circles, and Paul had to disabuse their minds of ideas which did not jibe with Christian teachings.

Few of the people to whom Paul spoke had any intellectual judgment about religion. Busy with their occupations, they were attracted to his talk about religion as they chanced to see and hear him, perhaps conversing with him privately about it, and they transferred their allegiance to Jesus as he seemed to promise more for their future than the gods of pagan shrines and oracles. One and another joined the company of those who were influenced by Paul, met if possible when the group ate or talked together, and when months later his letter was read in the assembly remembered the things that he had said and mentally resolved to follow his advice. Here and there one who was more devoted than the rest carried the Christian faith elsewhere and started another seed plot of the new religion. Thus was sown the seed of the kingdom, planted by Paul, watered by Apollos or such as he, while God gave the increase.

Paul wrote most of his letters while he was on his journeys or at his longer stopping places between the years 50 and 60. At length, venturing to Jerusalem with gifts from Gentile churches to the Jewish Christians there in an attempt to knit the ties of fellowship, he was attacked by his enemies, arrested by the Roman authorities, and after a time sent to Rome for trial at the imperial court. His last years are obscure, but probably he died for his faith in the reign of Nero about 64 A.D.

THE THEOLOGY OF PAUL

The teaching of Paul about religion was not so simple and concrete as the teaching of Jesus. Whatever Paul's particular training may have been he was a product of the schools. Knowing Jewish lore, he was acquainted too with the Greek thought current in his region of country, and he must have been familiar with the Oriental cults which were so much in vogue in the first Christian century. Paul had not heard Jesus speak but was well versed in the Christian tradition, and he thought through what he had heard about it and the meaning of his own personal experiences as a convert and a teacher of Christianity, held them all up against the background of his trained mind, and reached certain conclusions which seemed to be basic truths of the Christian religion. The Pauline theology was never expressed systematically, but always in the light of a particular situation which called out a letter from him to one of the groups of Christian converts which he had gathered.

Paul had learned from his own experience that the will may be directed wrongly because it is in the bondage of misunderstanding or sin. From such a condition it is impossible for a man to save himself. Nor was the law of the Jew with its scrupulous regulations sufficient to effect a moral cure. It is rather through the self-sacrificing life and death of Jesus Christ that salvation becomes possible. Paul believed that it is by personal faith in him on the part of the one in bondage, and by a willing acceptance of the lordship of Christ, that the gracious Spirit of God creates a new spiritual vigor which can triumph over sin and share in the power of resurrection. Paul was a mystic rather than a legalist.

While Jesus spoke his message in the familiar terms of everyday life, Paul used the language of the law and the theological schools. The ideas of the two men were not far apart, but they did

not clothe them in the same language. Paul had certain key words, like redemption and reconciliation, which have become so central in Christian theology that they have come to have a technical meaning. To understand their significance in the first Christian century it is necessary to divest them of later interpretations. "Redemption" was a term in use to speak of those who had been freed from servitude. As a slave was freed, so a person in bondage to the law might be emancipated by the death of Jesus from his fear of God and become a son of God. "Justification" was the legal acquittal which came when satisfaction had been given or forgiveness granted. A man was justified by God when the human attitude of faith and love had taken the place of the former disharmony between God and man. This new attitude was the fruit of the death of Jesus, which revealed the true heart of God and kindled faith in the divine goodwill. "Reconciliation" was the breaking down of the barrier between man and God, which had been erected by their disharmony; it was possible because of the conciliation achieved by Jesus in his death, which changed the human attitude.

The change of relation between God and man made possible that right living which was so difficult under the discipline of the law. The indwelling Spirit of God which Paul personified was a much more effective schoolmaster. Every Christian should keep in mind that he is but one member of an articulated Christian body, and all should work together for a common purpose.

Paul's ethics were not essentially different from those of Jesus, but they were often more ascetic. Paul was impressed deeply with the prevalence of immorality, and in general he thought of man's will as so perverted that moral living becomes hopeless without a transforming experience of God's grace. Jesus summoned men to righteousness as if they had the power to choose the right immediately. Both teachers stressed love as the crowning virtue. In his letters Paul condemned unreservedly the besetting sins of those to whom he was writing, and was as unsparing as his Master to conduct which grows out of ill will.

Regarding the future Paul shared the Christian expectation of his day that the Lord of glory would soon return, but that belief was tempered as he grew older and the expectation was unfulfilled. He looked for the resurrection to eternal life of those who had died in the Christian faith, and he immortalized his conception of future existence in the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians, as

he eulogized brotherly love in the thirteenth chapter of the same letter.

THE FATE OF THE JEWISH CHRISTIANS

While Paul and the Jews of the Dispersion were liberalizing Christianity, the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem seem to have become stricter in holding to the old law. The rocky hills which surrounded them were no more rigid than the minds of those whose ancestors had learned obedience to the Mosaic law at such great cost. In this they are a reminder of many denominationalists of modern times. The bulk of the people did not think much about their religious beliefs, and without the presence of Jesus among them it was easy to revert to the traditions and practices of earlier days. The leadership of James was conservative. The Temple, the priests, and the scribes were eloquent of the old order. It was enough for them to believe that Jesus was the Messiah who had come once and would return soon. Beyond that they did not speculate.

When at length Jewish discontent with the political order broke out into active revolt against Rome, the Christians found themselves in a sad plight. They were not in full accord with the unbelieving Jews, but they were no friends to the Romans. As the destruction of Jerusalem became imminent they fled from the capital to Pella beyond Jordan. The Jews who remained behind fought on doggedly, but their fury was no match for the strength of the Roman legions. In the year 70 the Roman armies reduced the rebels to subjection and the Temple was in ruins.

The fall of Jerusalem was a deathblow to the Jewish Christians. With the destruction of the Temple their religious center was lost. Two centuries later a Christian church once more became prominent in Jerusalem, and Constantine beautified the city with buildings, but it was no longer a city of Jews. Scattered here and there, the Jewish Christians tried to bridge the gulf which had been widening between the old religion and the new, but they failed. The unbelieving Jews found a new home for Rabbinism at Jamnia near the Mediterranean. They were no longer open to Christian conviction and bitterly opposed Christians of every sort. The Hebrew race had contributed the Old Testament to the Christian Scriptures. They supplied the apocalyptic idea which was so prominent at the beginning of the Christian era and filled so much of the thought of the earliest Christians. They contributed through Philo of Egypt to the development

of the Logos concept and to the allegorical method of interpreting literature, both of which were essentially Greek. They gave to the world their monotheism and their moral law. For those contributions Christians will always be indebted to the Hebrews. But they institutionalized their religion and could find no place in their system for an unconventional Christ.

The Jewish Christians who remained into the second century became known as Ebionites, the poor. Certain Clementine writings which date from about the year 200 were their spiritual contribution to Christianity. The Clementines were a Christian romance under the name of Recognitions and Homilies. They interpreted Christ as the eternal principle animating successive saints and incarnate at last in Jesus. He it was who freed men from their lower ideals. But they opposed the Pauline doctrine of the atonement, and had neither insight into the significance of Christianity nor vitality enough to survive in any strength. The Jewish Christians performed their function as preservers of a faith in Jesus among their own race, but the torch passed from their hands to the Gentiles because the Jewish interpretation of Jesus was too exclusive. The future of Christianity lay outside Palestine.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. Why were the Jews of the Dispersion more likely to respond to Christianity than those of Palestine?
2. What were the principal items in Paul's theology?
3. What was the psychological effect of the death of Jesus upon his followers?
4. How much that was old in Judaism was retained, and what new practices were adopted among the Christians?
5. Why should security have been enjoyed and then persecution break out?
6. Who were the Hellenists among the disciples of Jesus?
7. Why was Paul especially qualified for Christian leadership?
8. What were the most strategic avenues of advance for the new faith?
9. Why was the conference of Jerusalem of epochal importance?
10. Why was it that Christianity so soon passed out of relation to its Jewish environment?

For class discussion or debate

1. How far was Paul a believer in the approaching return of Christ?
2. Can Peter properly be called a liberal?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. The Judaizers.
2. Characteristics of the Roman siege of Jerusalem.
3. Antioch as an early Christian center.

For longer written essays

1. The historical geography of Asia Minor (with map).
2. Paul's missionary methods.
3. The philosophy of Philo the Alexandrian.
4. The Ebionites.
5. The ethics of Paul.

For conference and general examination

1. Paul's conception of sin and salvation as compared with that of Augustine, of Calvin, and of Jonathan Edwards.

For maps and tables

1. A map of the eastern Mediterranean to show the journeys of Paul.
2. Arrange in order the stories of the appearances of Jesus after his resurrection.

READING REFERENCES

Sources

The New Testament: The Acts and the Epistles
 Clementine Recognitions and Homilies
 JOSEPHUS. History of the Jewish War

Secondary Guides

ROPES. Apostolic Age
 MCGAFFERT. Apostolic Age
 ROBINSON. Life of Paul
 RAMSAY. St. Paul the Traveller
 DEISSMAN. St. Paul, a Study in Social and Religious History
 CONYBEARE and HOWSON. Life and Epistles of the Apostle Paul
 SCHWEITZER. Paul and His Interpreters
 ALLEN. Missionary Methods, St. Paul's or Ours?
 DRUMMOND. Philo Judæus
 HORT. Judaistic Christianity
 MOORE. Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era
 SCOTT. Beginnings of the Church
 HOGARTH. "Antioch," article in Encyclopedia Britannica
 DUCHESNE. Early History of the Christian Church

CHAPTER IV

THE PEOPLE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND THEIR RELIGIONS

THE PROSPECTS OF CHRISTIANITY

THE future of Christianity was to be determined by its ability to make good in the social environment of the Mediterranean. Palestine was within the limits of the Roman Empire. The religion of Jesus made progress early among the eastern provinces of the empire, and eventually it was to penetrate far into the Orient. But its destiny was bound up with the people of the Roman provinces to the west. It must meet the need of Greeks and Romans, Egyptians, Carthaginians, and the other subject peoples of Rome. It must prove its superiority to the older polytheism in which most of the people believed, and to the numerous mystery religions which had been imported from the East. It would meet the philosophical speculations of the learned, the hostility of pagan priests, and the incredulity of those who prefer the occult to the simple. It would face the scorn of those who regarded provincial Jews as inferiors. It would have to justify itself to thinker and statesman on the one hand and to rustic and slave on the other, if it was to be anything more than a provincial faith or one more Oriental cult for a few. It was to its advantage that there was a widespread quest for a better religion than paganism had supplied as yet.

The people of the empire were by no means alike, but the message of the Christian missionary was the same for all. In the lands of the eastern Mediterranean were the ancient civilizations—of Syria and Phœnicia, Egypt, the Tigris-Euphrates country, Asia Minor and Greece—with their hoary faiths and their newer philosophies. Westward were the more virile but less cultured peoples—of Italy, North Africa, Gaul and Spain—which had come earlier under the dominion of Rome. On the northern frontiers were tribes of barbarous Teutons who at times knocked at the gates of the empire but were kept out by the Roman legions. For them all the Gospel of Jesus offered a

simple faith in a single fatherly God and a brotherly ideal for men, but it must overcome inertia and ignorance and suspicion. Its greatest asset was its gospel of hope for the common man.

In its approach to the hundred million people scattered over the three million square miles of land and sea the missionaries of the cross had the advantage of well-prepared routes of travel and trade. Five great highways radiated from Rome and branch roads ramified like a network over the empire. Some of these were built with the highest engineering skill, and were so well paved that they lasted for centuries. A system of police gave protection and travel was easy and frequent. It was over these roads that Christian missionaries found their way into every province of the empire, and lay Christians mingled and exchanged their hopes and purposes and ideas. Numerous ships plied from port to port along sea lanes which had been used for centuries. The Roman peace reasonably insured the safety of the traveler. The universal use of the Greek and Latin languages made communication easy. Roman dominion did not extend far into the hinterland, except to the Danube and Rhine valleys of the north and to Britain. The empire was held together by the strength of its imperial organization and by the general contentment due to international peace and security, by the presence of colonies of soldiers strategically located, and by the network of communications which facilitated travel, trade and the movement of troops.

Unity of empire tended to produce a cosmopolitanism of thought and social custom limited only by the provincialisms of the remoter folk. The extensive foreign commerce, the shifting about of armies composed of men from all over the empire, the similar shift of slaves and freedmen, the associations for the cultivation of religion or some other common interest, all helped to break down racial differences and to standardize life and thought.

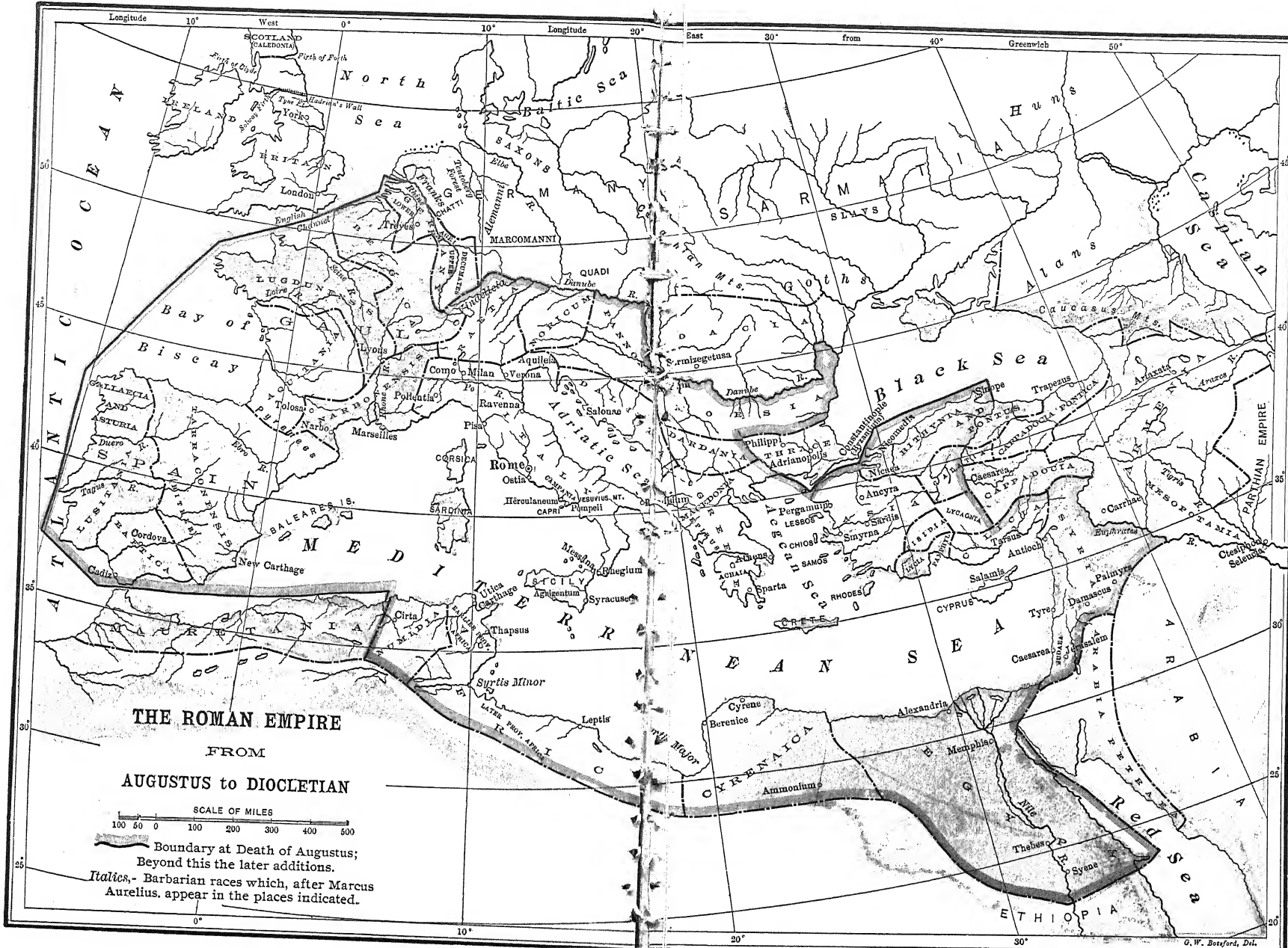
THE COMMON HERITAGE

All parts of the empire within easy reach of the sea enjoyed a civilization that was the product of many centuries. Its rudiments came from far back in prehistoric time, when the discovery of fire, the domestication of animals and plants, and the invention of the necessary tools, paved the way for later progress. In the Near East developed industry and commerce, literature and the fine arts, and the mastery of nations.

Out of the heritage of the older past the Greeks created the

highest culture of the ancient world. The splendid civilization of the Ægeans at Crete and other centers midway between the Greek peninsula and Asia almost perished when the ancestors of the Greeks invaded the Mediterranean lands from interior Europe. They were barbarians then and knew not its value. But they learned it so well that Greek civilization became the test of refinement in the Mediterranean world. The Greeks experimented with popular government, produced masterpieces of literature and art, and put their best mind on the philosophy of life. The culture which they created was carried to the East by Alexander of Macedon and mingled with Oriental civilization. It was transplanted to the West at points where Greek colonies found footing. It was carried wherever Greek merchants plied their trade. When all-conquering Rome turned to the East for more victories after the subjugation of Carthage and subdued Greece and the broken empire of Alexander, she did not destroy the products of Greek enlightenment. Rome adopted Greek philosophy, adapted Greek religion, imitated Greek literature and art. There was a Greek spirit which was not in harmony with the Roman. The Greek had learned a measure of political freedom in the city-state, freedom of the mind to think about things worth while, freedom to paint and mold without the restraints of ancient convention, freedom to give wings to imagination and to dream of ideals which most men in East or West were too earth-bound to realize. All this freedom was now under the control of a government which was characterized by rigid conformity to law and which had become frankly monarchical. But nothing could shackle the mind once freed, and Hellenistic philosophy and Byzantine and Arabian culture are witnesses to the persistence of the influence of the Greek intellect and taste.

The contribution of the Romans to ancient civilization was their development of law and their practical political wisdom. From a small outpost on the river Tiber, threatened by Etruscan and Latin neighbors, Rome had steadily forged dominion over neighbors and other Italians, had wrestled with Carthage for the control of the West, and then had made good her control of the whole circle of Mediterranean lands. From its central position at the middle of the Mediterranean the city on the Tiber preserved order, promulgated law, and dictated international policies. Its power was enforced by an effective military system. Its government was administered judi-



ciously through imperial and municipal officers. Its law though strict was based on principles of reason and justice and was more humane than Oriental law. And Rome was wise enough to take the best contributions which other peoples could give and diffuse them throughout her empire, and to permit a reasonable amount of local freedom in the ordinary affairs of life. In the process of political development the Roman republican machinery had proved inadequate to administer world empire, and after a century of revolution the government had become stabilized by Augustus. When Jesus of Nazareth was growing to manhood in Galilee, Augustus was bringing peace and prosperity to Italy and the provinces, reviving agriculture which had suffered from neglect, making it possible to gather wealth through honest industry and commerce, and finding time for the finer things of life. And discriminating persons were selecting the best that any people in the empire could produce and synthesizing all in a system of culture or philosophy or religion. Unity of empire tended to create universalism of faith and custom. But the thinkers were few compared with the doers.

THE CLASSES OF THE PEOPLE

The masses of the people had small share in the prosperity which nobles and traders enjoyed. A class of nobles, some of them wealthy, constituted the highest rank, while second in importance were men who possessed Roman citizenship, but often little else. Below them were the freemen, most of them city dwellers. They differed from the citizens in being able to vote but not to hold office. They engaged in trade and even in handicrafts which the others disdained, but they were looked down upon by those who were socially above them. The masses of the people were either slaves or freedmen. Many of the freedmen, while technically free, were clients dependent on their former masters, but usually they were enterprising, capable persons, and were deserving of the freedom which they had gained. The substratum of society was the slave. Occupations of all kinds were filled by those in servitude. Skilled craftsmen and scholars who taught the children of their masters were as helpless and often were treated as harshly as the rudest rural serf. Many of them were household servants; some were engaged in manufacturing for the profit of their owners; a great many of them were laborers on the large landed estates called *latifundia*. There the élite lived with the

coloni, or serfs, who had been compelled by misfortune to surrender their small agricultural holdings to the great landed proprietors.

OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE

It was not good form for an aristocrat to engage in agriculture, but a man who had accumulated a fortune and cared for anything more than to enjoy it in debauchery often spent some of his money in buying up small farms and converting them into a large country estate. Part of the land he leased to *coloni*; another part was put in charge of a superintendent and worked by slaves who lived in rural villages on the estate. Slave labor was recruited without great expense from captives as long as the wars lasted, later by kidnaping, and the lot of the slaves was hard. Most of the farm laborers came from the western provinces, but refined men and women from the East were often treated like beasts. They were branded, herded like cattle, and worked mercilessly. The household slaves were treated better, but the whole system was degrading. Slave insurrections had broken out at times, and slaves were among the first to respond to such a message of hope and deliverance as the Christian religion had to give.

Much of the manufacturing industry was in the hands of slave owners who enjoyed the profits of the skilled labor of their slaves. Even freemen who were artisans had to belong to a guild and to be governed by the rules of the guild. Nor could they change their occupations. Handicrafts were carried on in small workshops, where individual taste made distinctive rather than standardized products. These were sold in the cities in small retail stores, with certain lines of trade grouped in particular streets. Capital could be borrowed at high rates of interest; banks and a credit system were in use; corporations were formed and shares were sold to those who wished a part in the enterprises; rich men speculated on the stock exchange. Commerce flourished because wealthy persons demanded luxuries, and staple products were imported by many routes, even from the most distant countries.

Those who prospered were spendthrifts or miserly according to their dispositions, but the poor were often miserable. They lived in the simplest fashion, often in a single room, and ate their bread, greens and olive oil, and drank their wine, without the varied cuisine sought after by modern families, even of the poor. Along with the well-to-do the poor man revelled in the thrills of the circus and

enjoyed the largesses of food provided by men who courted popularity or wished for political support.

SOCIAL ETHICS

Social conditions in the empire were changing. Travel and trade introduced people of all sorts to one another. Easy morals from the Orient weakened the naturally stern nature of the Romans, which already had been corrupted by military success and growing luxury. The long wars had injured both conqueror and conquered. The transfer of wealth from many lands to the Romans threatened to impoverish the provincials, and at the same time gave to the wealthy Romans an unwholesome power over living conditions. The old self-control yielded to indulgence. If they had the means, people liked to live in comfortable houses with baths and hot air furnaces, to be ostentatious in society, and to be attended by many slaves. Pride in Roman justice changed in many instances to cruelty toward inferiors. Old standards of morals were breaking down. Augustus tried to restore them and for a time succeeded in checking the decline, but it began again in the second century.

Striking contrasts appeared. Family life was becoming inconstant, women were divorced with increasing nonchalance, unwanted children were disposed of by infanticide and exposure. Yet there were noteworthy instances of domestic fidelity, and children were cherished and indulged in many homes. Vice in degrading forms flaunted itself in the highest circles and was imitated among the lowly, suicide was common, gambling and extravagance were cronies. Yet many people lamented these evils and quietly preserved their self-respect. Culture belonged to few, and was little appreciated generally. Slavery encouraged laziness and cruelty. The games of the circus were brutalizing. Theaters and banquets were too often indecent. Yet a social conscience was not entirely lacking. Education and philanthropy and a greater appreciation of women and children were evidences of it.

The pagans needed the powerful moral sanction of an ethical religion. Pagan gods were far from exemplary, and many people were frankly skeptical of all religion. The superstitious clung to their traditional beliefs as a safeguard for their prosperity. The masses of the people still clung to their ancient agricultural religion, which was perpetuated in spring and harvest festivals. Even though city life had replaced rural culture for many of the people, the old

festivals were celebrated by the priests of the community. Old gods and new were rivals for favor. Vesta was still the goddess of the hearth, and every home had its patrons for the various daily activities. People prayed to them for help, as later they prayed to the Christian saints. Superstitious, they feared misfortune unless they kept the requirements of their religion, and they resorted to magic as well as to prayers and offerings.

Not only did the Roman people adapt their old religion to new conditions, but they also adopted foreign gods into their pantheon, identifying them in many cases with their own deities. Thoughtful persons, even though skeptical about the worth of religion, regarded it as essential to social order and respected it in public. Pagans of every class felt the burdens of life and longed for deliverance. If the gods could give them help they would maintain the old religions. Plutarch is an example of a few who tried to purify the popular religion and elevate it. He believed in one God, but found a place for other divine beings as his inferiors. He maintained a sturdy moral standard. Others were finding satisfaction in one or another of the Greek philosophies, still others in Oriental cults which had traveled westward. Temples provided centers for these religions and priests took care of their vested interests. In spite of the worship of many gods there was a deepening sense of need and a growing discontent with traditional religion. The most thoughtful minds conceived of God as good and beneficent, and believed it to be man's duty to live morally and to have a spirit of goodwill toward mankind.

GREEK PHILOSOPHY

The principal contributions to a higher type of religion were made by the Jews, the Greeks, and certain of the Orientals. The religion of the Jews is familiar from the Bible. That religion had appealed to many pagans who had become proselytes of Judaism or at least God-fearers. The naïve religion of the Greeks in early historic times is described by Homer. The tragedians of the classic period in Athens revealed a keener sense of sin and its penalty, and they saw the need of a belief in the dependability of divine justice and benevolence. Some persons took refuge in a rational philosophy. The early Greek philosophers used their reason to understand physical nature, but the later thinkers pondered upon the nature of man and of God. Socrates turned his mind in upon itself and discovered a moral nature which intuitively distinguished between right and

wrong, and he believed that the moral nature which he found in himself might be predicated of a God with whom it was possible to have friendly relations. He made the mistake of thinking that to know good would lead to right action. But he was a pioneer in the field of human personality. Plato idealized Socratic conceptions, and saw more deeply into the nature and destiny of man. The soul, which Socrates was content to study as it is, was thought by Plato to come from a far past trailing clouds of glory or of gloom, and to be trained through knowledge and virtue to future immortality. He found spiritual reality beyond the sphere of the senses, and the salvation of the soul he believed to consist of a vision of the true, the beautiful and the good, which together spell God. Aristotle speculated less, finding his satisfaction in thinking about the problems and duties of earthly life. His message was not of the mystical perfection of the soul, freeing itself from material trammels, but of manly facing of difficulties by every person and an attempt to understand the world in which one lives. Plato was a philosophical idealist, Aristotle a scientific moralist. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle were the great triumvirate of Greek philosophy.

These higher levels of ideas were familiar to Christians who were trained in the Hellenic thought of the schools, but in the time of Jesus most people of the empire were interested chiefly in how they as individuals might get the most out of life, and if they were to have a philosophy they made their choice between Stoicism and Epicureanism. Stoicism was an ethical rather than religious philosophy. It gave virtue the central place and made it the key to happiness. It taught the value of self-denial and self-control, basing all attainment on a real power of the will to choose the good. The emotions should be subordinated to the will acting always according to one's best judgment. The Stoic believed in a divine spirit universally diffused, but man must work out his own salvation. Rugged, moral discipline is the process that subjects the passion and brings peace and satisfaction. Stoicism was too hard a doctrine for the multitude, but its democratic principles of human worth and brotherhood and of the pervasive spirit of God among men, though He was impersonal, resembled Christianity and aided it. Not a few high Roman officials, even an emperor, Marcus Aurelius, were Stoics, and their convictions helped to humanize Roman law and institutions. Stoicism was the opposite of the comfortable doctrine of Epicurus that one finds his best reward in following nature's leading, using the sense satisfac-

tions that are available, for God if He exists does not regard man and his doings, and this life ends all. Epicureanism found in mental poise the highest satisfaction. It did not prescribe self-indulgence but freedom from worry, but many who popularized it seized upon hedonism implicit in it as a charter for personal license in conduct.

The phases of Greek thought were reflected and modified by the larger environment of the Roman world of the first Christian century. While the philosophers were teaching their theories, popular preachers were satirizing the evils of their times, calling people to moral reform, and paving the way for the Christian preaching of concrete truth. The speculations of philosophy needed to be supplemented by the practical teachings of revealed religion, but at least men were thinking, and thus were being prepared for the Christian Gospel. Some of the preachers took philosophy seriously as of practical value, and eloquent moralists summoned their hearers to virtuous living and a kindly spirit. Sometimes their preaching resulted in a spiritual revival. Others though individually unworthy in some cases and inclined to scoff at human weakness, served to arrest attention, and helped to prepare the way for a positive Christian message. Besides these were private chaplains in homes of the wealthy, to whom people brought their vexations and difficulties, and who became real pastors, though to a limited few.

EMPEROR WORSHIP

Common folk and philosophers found common footing in emperor worship. Roman philosophy was made in Greece, and Roman polytheism was akin to the Greek. In the development of religion the Roman had been less imaginative and more serious than the Greek, but not satisfied with his own attainments had grafted an extensive pantheon of foreign divinities on his own native stock of ideas and practices. There was no unity of religion or philosophy, but out of the conglomerate of faiths and philosophies emerged one distinctive religion, the religion of the state, expressed in the cult of emperor worship.

Whatever the personal or provincial religion might be, every loyal citizen and subject was expected to engage in emperor worship. Every great empire has tended to create its own religious cultus. It helps to conserve loyalty and to hold the state together. In the Roman Empire the imperial cult was compatible with other religions, except in the case of Jew or Christian, who could not conscientiously

bow before any other than his own God. Emperor worship was the expression of the idea of the unity and power of the empire. These were personified in the emperor, who was not infallible but representative of all that the state stood for. To bow before a statue of the emperor was to venerate the beneficent state. It was an act of patriotism as much as of religion, and when Christians refused to bow in honor of the emperor they incurred the suspicion of disloyalty and later on the persecution of the state. The imperial cult was organized with local temples and priests and associations for worship, and headed up in an annual assembly of delegates in each province which elected a high priest to serve for a year and celebrated their meeting with sacrifices and games.

INDIVIDUALISM

Emperor worship was not enough to satisfy the needs of the people of the empire. Something more was required than a symbol of force. Spiritual starvation was imminent without a better religion. Despite the overhead control of government individualism had grown apace with the breakdown of national organization. There was no one dominant authority except in government, because Greek, Roman, and Oriental, each excelled in some particular. The result was selfishness, personal greed, and a refusal to accept any authority in mind or conduct except one's own will. Individualism was a real gain in the transference of responsibility to a man's self, but the individual needed regulatory principles which only religion and ethics could supply.

To the individual who prized his freedom neither an ethnic religion nor the emperor cult could satisfy the soul's quest. He wanted personal relation with the divine, the assurance of his personal worth in a doctrine of immortality, and association with others who were on the same quest. Above all he wanted to escape from sin and sorrow and the fear of death. When Christianity came to him it found him experimenting with the mystery religions of Greece and the Orient.

THE MYSTERY RELIGIONS OF REVELATION AND REDEMPTION

The mystery cults were modifications of Greek or Roman religions. They were the answer to a widespread longing for certainty of salvation to a future life. Most of the ethnic religions broke down there, but there were myths of gods who had been able to overcome

death, and there was a great hope as well as a great longing that one might enter into such a relation to a triumphant deity as to share in immortality. The early worship of these gods had been crude and sensual. All worship that sought to stimulate the life process tended toward sex expression, and was likely to result in immoral orgies. But by the time of the Christian centuries these had been toned down and refined for new times and new people, and with their doctrines of revelation and salvation and their use of sacraments they were so similar to much of Christian teaching that they became formidable rivals of Christianity.

This was particularly true of three of the mystery religions, those of Cybele, of Isis, and of Mithras. Two hundred years before the birth of Christianity the worship of Cybele, the Phrygian goddess of fertility, had been brought to Rome. It was slow to win popularity, but it had in it the possibilities of popularity because it claimed to bring the worshiper into right relations with God by means of its mystical rites. According to ancient mythology the goddess had a son Attis, who like nature faded and died in the autumn but revived with the renewal of life on the earth. To Cybele and Attis the Phrygians gave honor in festivals of joy when the springtime came to their native hills. These celebrations were often wild orgies when men cut themselves with knives and mingled their own blood with their sacrifices. The distinctive rite which persisted in the West was the sacrament of bull's blood, when the devotee allowed the blood of a slain animal to flow over his body, so that bathing in the blood one might be cleansed and purified to share in the divine life.

The worship of Isis came from Egypt. Like Cybele, she was the reproductive, regenerating force for nature and humanity. According to mythology Isis had secured the resurrection of the dead god Osiris, typified by the annual renewal of life on the earth in the spring of the year. A sacerdotal system with temple and ritual had developed in Egypt. Why might not the Isis cult carried to the West, guide the Greek and Roman to a clearer understanding of man's future life, and bring an assurance of resurrection and immortality? This was the lure that carried widely the Egyptian cult, which in its essence resembled the Phrygian.

Similarly the Persian sun god Mithras came to be looked upon as a means of salvation from the eternal conflict between the principles of good and evil. Mithraism was morally superior to the other mystery religions. It was a way of escape from the conventional hopeless

faith of antiquity. Why not let it lead one into new spiritual regions of faith and joy? Mithraism made its way to the Mediterranean, and traveled beyond to Rome and the West. It appealed especially to men, and it was carried by soldiers and traders to the northern frontier of the empire, where relics of the cult are still found. For a time it was a grave question whether Christianity could win out in competition with it, especially since it accommodated itself to rival religions in the empire. The strength of Christianity lay in the personality of its founder and in the practical moral worth which characterized his religion.

Each of the mystery religions had its peculiar secret rites by which votaries were initiated into the fellowship. Scenes were fashioned to represent the supernatural and the future life in which the initiated was given a share. In this dramatic way the devotee was made conscious of his privilege. By processes of purification and increasing participation in the secrets of the mystic association one might hope through ecstasy to have actual communion with Deity. In a sacred meal he might have fellowship with others of the group and have spiritual nourishment from the god. On special occasions festivals were celebrated. By such evolution from primitive nature religion the mystic cults lifted the aspiring soul to peace of mind and an assurance of a blessed future. Sometimes the mystery religions crept into a community because their votaries had come to live there, sometimes they were welcomed as importations because of their excellence. They were prized for their emotional appeal more than for any new doctrine. They became popular because they made a universal appeal to the longing for happiness and assurance of ultimate salvation from sin and death, relieved the sense of loneliness and defeat, and gave an experience of comfort and uplift. It added to their success that they were unconventional and international, and postulated a single god rather than a pantheon of divinities.

This concrete mysticism had an advantage over philosophy, which was intangible, and thus appealed to a type of mind which philosophy did not satisfy. Cicero, though a philosopher, declared that the Eleusinian mysteries near Athens were the most precious contributions that Athens made to human life, because they taught not only how to live happily but also how to die with a better hope. The celebrations included both men and women. Sometimes they were criticized as immoral, because certain of them included symbols and rites derived from the nature worship of Dionysus or Cybele, but the

tendency was to insist on moral living if one would share in the blessings of the mysteries, and they seem to have produced in many persons an experience of spiritual satisfaction.

The effect of the pagan mysteries on Christianity in its plastic state is much disputed. They came into frequent contact, and it is inconceivable that mutual influences did not make their impress. The resemblance between the two in their belief in a risen Savior, the voluntary membership, the use of baptism, communion, and other symbols, the celebration of winter and spring festivals, the possession of secret mysteries, or "arcana," is very suggestive. Yet it is by no means necessary to think of Christianity as essentially a product of the Oriental mysteries. Both developed at the same time and in the same social environment. Both functioned similarly to meet human needs and longings, and both found in nature suggestions of spiritual struggle and victory. That which was best fitted to satisfy the demands of human beings survived and won out in the rivalry with the pagan cults. But it is idle to deny that the Christianity of the Roman Empire was indebted to the contemporary mystic cults for their contribution to its adaptation to its Gentile environment. What seems to be a degradation of Christianity as it passes out of its primitive neighborhood was but the inevitable consequence of contacts with foreign ideas and customs and of the necessary adjustments to a world in which it must live and do its work.

The sickness of soul and body which many felt, especially in the Near East, gave the health cult of Æsculapius a wide appeal, as Christian Science and other healing ministries have their present vogue. Æsculapius was the divine physician of the Greeks. People traveled from all parts of the Mediterranean to his shrine near Corinth and there made their vows, believing that one man's fee was as good as another's to secure attention and healing.

SYNCRETISM

All these various cults competed for adherents and each had its thousands of votaries. Among the most thoughtful people was a tendency to select the best from different religions and combine them into one's own system, which would be nearer an ideal religion than any single one of them. Such syncretism would show a respect for the different religions and a spirit of tolerance. Even Christianity could be combined with other religions. Its doctrines of a suffering Savior, of a religious community of believers, of high moral ideals,

of repentance and forgiveness, were familiar ideas in the religious mind of the empire. However superior Christ might be to a Christian, it was not difficult for a pagan to place him in the catalogue of deities in his syncretistic pantheon. But such syncretism was dangerous to Christianity lest it lose the spiritual quality which was its strength and the emotional appeal which it had to the lowly and become one among many theologies. Perhaps it was an instinctive fear of syncretism in part that made Christian leaders intolerant of other faiths.

Thus the pagan world of Rome sought to know God and the eternal mystery of life. In blind fear it had raised its altars. With earnest thought it had developed its philosophies. In deep longing it had elaborated its mysteries. But paganism lacked the spiritual dynamic that Christianity had to give. Neither pagan sacrifice, nor Greek philosophy, nor Oriental mysticism could give spiritual power to the common man, but that was the world's great need. A religion that was to meet the need of all classes and peoples must at least have a faith in a God of power and righteousness, a divine revelation of His will and purpose, a conviction that life must be worthy and continue beyond the present sphere, and a belief in a personal salvation through a competent Savior for the poor as well as the rich, and the ignorant as well as the learned. The old paganism possibly might be fitted to this need or the newer mysteries might satisfy. Skepticism might seem the only reasonable conclusion. But Christianity claimed to meet all needs through the person of Jesus Christ and his Gospel.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. How did the status and occupations of the people of the empire differ from those of the twentieth century in America?
2. How far is it possible to draw a parallel between present-day morals and those of the empire?
3. How did the contributions of the Greeks to civilization differ from those of the Romans?
4. In what respects were Platonists and Stoics different? Which more nearly correspond to modern philosophical thinking?
5. Were the Cynics valuable members of society? Give reasons for your answer.
6. Can you find any modern resemblance to emperor worship?
7. Why did not individualism produce such free institutions as have been cherished in America?
8. How would you grade the different mystery religions from the

point of view of spiritual worth? Which was more successful: Mithraism or Isis worship?

9. What was the cult of Æsculapius?
10. Is syncretism possible to-day between Christian theology and pragmatic philosophy?

For class discussion or debate

1. Was Stoicism a religion?
2. Should the Christian Church have denounced ancient slavery as a social institution?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. The God-fearers.
2. The treatment of slaves.
3. Roman roads.
4. The Roman political system.

For longer written essays

1. The home life of the well-to-do Roman.
2. The Eleusinian mysteries.
3. The importance of Roman law.
4. Plutarch's attempts to reform religion.
5. The belief in immortality among the votaries of the mysteries.

For conference with the instructor and general examination

1. A comparative study of the ethics of Jesus, of Plato, and of the Stoics.

For maps and tables

1. A map of the principal Roman roads.
2. A map to show the provinces of the Roman Empire.

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 XENOPHON. Memorabilia

Secondary Guides

ANGUS. The Environment of Early Christianity
 — The Mystery Religions and Christianity
 KENNEDY. St. Paul and the Mystery Religions

- CASE. The Evolution of Early Christianity
FAIRWEATHER. Jesus and the Greeks
FARNELL. Cults of the Greek States
FOWLER. The Religious Experience of the Roman People
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DILL. Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius
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GLOVER. Conflict of Religions in the Roman Empire
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CHAPTER V

THE PROBLEMS OF EXPANSION

THE TRANSPLANTING

To the pagan countries of the Mediterranean, hungry for spiritual satisfaction though often unaware of that hunger, Christianity made its way out of Palestine. It was thrust out from its homeland like a bird from the nest; it was carried along the highways and the lanes of the sea as the seeds of grasses are borne by the wind. Jewish in character, it became acclimated among Gentiles. Its progress was not due to any conspicuous missionaries after Paul's career ended. Ordinary men and women recommended it to their friends and acquaintances. Finding root first in the centers of population, it made its way more slowly out into the country villages.

Christian evangelists were certain that their religion was of incomparable value. It taught the worth of every human being before God, and thus had an effective appeal to the lowly and the oppressed. It claimed to possess a power to take away sin and secure divine forgiveness without the sacrificial ceremonies of pagan or Jewish cults. It assured such personal fellowship with God as Jesus explained to his disciples in the upper room at Jerusalem. It declared the truth of personal immortality guaranteed by the promise of Jesus and by his resurrection. It further promised the indwelling of a spiritual power which would overcome discouragement and difficulty and death, and was the earnest of an eternal life of infinite possibilities, greater than the mind could conceive.

THE ETHICAL AND SOCIAL APPEAL OF CHRISTIANITY

Christianity made a strong ethical appeal because the ethics of Jesus were so unconventional and so satisfying. He stressed motive rather than act. He wiped out the distinction between obligation to one's own small group and the larger social fealty. He recognized personality as the measure of human value, and made no distinction between classes. To do good unto one of the least was equivalent to service rendered to him. The Good Samaritan was he who pitied

an unfortunate stranger when the Jew passed by on the other side. Such teaching gained a response from tradesmen, slaves, and others who were separated from home or race connections, and who welcomed attachment to a group with a new kind of solidarity. The motive that enlisted and held together non-Jewish Christians was sometimes religious and sometimes social, more often a mixture of both, but it explains the growing success of Christianity in a restless, changing society.

By the end of the first Christian century a new social force was very plainly making itself felt in the cosmopolitan society of the Mediterranean lands. Everywhere in the centers of population and vicinity, in the eastern half of the empire at least, were men and women who were acknowledged followers of Jesus of Nazareth. They were not transformed outwardly. They lived usually in the same social relations as before, and engaged in the same occupations if not incompatible with their new religious profession. They were conspicuous for their kindly, upright lives, and they were scrupulous in observing their obligations both to men and to God. They were missionary in spirit, and continually were winning converts to their faith from all pagan cults and from all classes of people. They were organized loosely into religious groups which were called churches, a name used in the Septuagint to designate the Jewish people as a religious unit. These local churches were as yet independent of outside control, but there was a consciousness of a universal Church, for Christians everywhere felt the bond of Christian love, and a common faith, hope, and purpose binding them all together in the bonds of heavenly citizenship. Thoughtful pagans were speculating about the future of this new and virile religion which had outgrown its Jewish cradle, and provincial officials were taking notice of Christianity as a power inside the state and a rival of the state religion.

THE EXTENT OF CHRISTIAN EXPANSION

By the year 100 A.D. Christianity was located in the coast towns of Palestine and had occupied parts of Syria and Mesopotamia. It had evangelized most of Asia Minor, and had established itself firmly along the southern and western coast. It had found firm footing in the great cities of Antioch, Ephesus and Alexandria. It had worked up the Nile from Alexandria and into parts of Arabia. It had reached Carthage and other parts of North Africa, and had touched Gaul and Spain. It had made little impression on Italy, but there was a

church in Rome. It had made no spectacular conquests. Here and there it had won a man or a woman of social standing, but its principal appeal had been to those who were more conscious of their needs.

The subapostolic period from 70 to 110 A.D. is seriously deficient in documents needed to reconstruct accurately the history of the Christian people, but the changes that occurred during that period show that Christians were trying to face the problems that bristled with difficulties. These problems confronted them frequently as they lived in society and as they assembled for work and instruction at longer intervals when they faced the active opposition of paganism or of the state. The influence of environment was strong over them. The temptation to accommodate their actions and opinions to the ways of the world around them was constant. There was a problem of leadership, for few were qualified either by training or by social standing. In many cases it was necessary to fall back on precedents in Judaism or paganism in order to solve the problems. Patience, tact, intelligence, and faith were necessary for the solution.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE

It was not an easy task to adjust a religion cradled in Palestine to a Gentile environment, and the transition was not completed until about the year 140. Christians must determine their relations to a society that was far from the Christian ideal, and must face the possibility of the hostility of a pagan government to a faith that rivaled the imperial cult and was intolerant of other religions. It was unlikely that society would take kindly to a religion whose platform assumed the destruction of the existing order as soon as Christ should return.

Aside from such external relations was the problem of internal organization. Christianity could not exist as a force in the world without embodiment. Already the Church had come into existence but with the varying practices of different churches it would not be easy to establish an efficient and unified Christian body. Then there was the problem of definition. What was this new faith and what did it stand for? What was it to teach about God, about the person of Christ, about salvation and the future life? There was need for such definition. Christian life and thought could not always remain in the state of flux which characterized its primitive days. And most serious of all was the problem of moral and spiritual progress. The

early enthusiasm and the sense of divine nearness were being lost. A high moral standard of Christian living had been required by Jesus and Paul, but it was a hard fight to attain to that standard in the midst of pagan laxity and corruption. Most Christians were conscious of these as specific problems, but one or another of them had to be faced by individuals or local groups before the second century was well advanced.

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIAN LIVING

The most persistent problem which Christians had to meet was to live according to the principles of Jesus in a pagan environment. This was not easy but the moral code of their religion required abstention from degrading habits and the cultivation of a contented spirit in the midst of hampering circumstances. They struggled manfully to cope with temptation. The sturdiest spirits tried by fasting, almsgiving, and other forms of self-denial to please God and overcome tendencies within themselves that handicapped character building. Martyrdom even was welcomed as a triumph of piety and a sure passport to bliss. The ideal life which they tried to live was a life in the Spirit, but in actual practice most Christians tried to render moral obedience and relied on apostolic standards of conduct rather than on an inner light for guidance.

The family life of Christians was commendable. Husband and wife, though handicapped when one was pagan and the other Christian, exerted themselves to create a harmonious home life, and the position of women and children in the Christian homes was superior to that of most pagan families. Christians were sober and industrious, and they dignified labor at a time when it was regarded as a disgrace and relegated mostly to slaves. They did not forget that their Master was a carpenter and that Paul made tents. Idleness was looked upon with disfavor. Christians kept away from the popular places of amusement because of their degrading character, but they mingled with others in business and society. In certain instances they gave up their employment when it was inconsistent with Christian principles. Such persons were not allowed to suffer want, and charity was generous within the brotherhood. Contributions of money for the needy were made at their common meal, and frequently gifts were brought to the officers of administration for distribution. Orphans were cared for. Spinsters and widows were supported cheerfully, because virginity was esteemed highly and second marriages

were disapproved. At times the brotherhood ransomed Christian captives or freed Christian slaves by its generosity. In these various ways the Christians were an example to their neighbors, and their brotherliness caused favorable comment.

THE PROBLEM OF LEADERSHIP

The early Christians, meeting in their voluntary conventicles, listened to the exhortations of self-appointed apostles, prophets and teachers, who were their preachers and spiritual guides. They believed that such persons were endowed with a special spiritual gift known as the *charisma*. But almost from the beginning some sort of business management was desirable. The experiment of the Seven in Jerusalem was a tentative movement in that direction, but it is not certain that it was imitated elsewhere. In every church qualified leaders were needed to perfect the organization, care for the interests of the members and administer charity when necessary, arrange for the meetings for worship and the observance of baptism and the Lord's Supper, guard the moral standards of their religion, and interpret the correct faith as over against current heresies.

It soon came to be the custom for a committee or board of elders to direct affairs in the local church. The direction of elders was customary in Jewish synagogues, and was a custom in vogue among Greek religious associations. Paul appointed such elders over churches that he organized, and while he lived kept a share in their superintendence. After the early enthusiasm in the churches had waned voluntary exhorters seemed less dependable either in character or in teaching, and in the second century the elders, or presbyters, superseded them as spiritual guides in addition to their function of oversight. Before long the tasks of the board of presbyters became so onerous with the increasing membership of the churches that a single member of the board, presumably the chairman, assumed the responsibility of oversight and gave his whole time to it. The former title of presbyter remained, but he was called also bishop or overseer. In effect he was pastor of the church, responsible for the admission of its members and for their faith and morals, and for the proper functioning of organization. All the details of this process are not clear, and doubtless the process of development varied. In the East the emergence of the single bishop appears earlier than in the West. By the middle of the second century the churches generally seem to have had such bishops, men regarded as successors of the apostles.

All these church leaders were believed to be possessed of the charismatic gift.

At first the bishops ordinarily were chosen by the people, but the tendency was to transfer the election to the clergy of the neighborhood. The essential qualifications for a bishop were that he should have a reputation for virtue and a well-tested religious experience. The bishops and presbyters were assisted by deacons whom they appointed and ordained. Their special task was to care for the needs of the sick and the poor, to visit those who had been thrown into prison, and to give spiritual counsel. Certain women were set apart by the bishop as deaconesses to minister to other women in their homes and in the church, especially on occasions of baptism. As early as the second century there were occasionally gatherings of the clergy, called synods, where disputed doctrines or practices were discussed and an attempt was made to reach unanimous decisions.

THE PROBLEM OF ADJUSTMENTS

If Christianity had remained in its original Jewish environment, the matter of adjustment to that environment would have been relatively easy. Stephen and Paul indicated the way by which the Christian could use Judaism for an understanding of religion, yet be emancipated from its fetters. But Christianity was mobile, and wherever it went it had to be adjusted to various conceptions of religion and yet not diverge far from its own norm. The Greek mind had worked out certain constructive ideas about religion, and it is clear from the Fourth Gospel that Christian thought was in process of Hellenization from an early date. The problem was how to conserve the best of this thought and yet to steer clear of fanciful and eclectic schemes of belief, like Gnosticism. The Christian Church had to adapt for itself similarly such useful forms of organization as Roman political science could suggest without losing the spiritual genius of its organization. It had to formulate its worship without sacrificing the spontaneity of prayer and praise. It had to maintain its unity and integrity without giving up its local freedom. Perhaps its most difficult adjustment was to make the transition from the confident hope of the imminent return of Christ and the establishment of his kingdom to the idea of a permanent Church in the world without losing faith in the power of Christ or in the ultimate victory of Christianity over the world order that existed. It was easier to believe optimistically in the second coming of Christ, a hope that

never has died out in the Christian Church in spite of many disappointments, than it was to make an adjustment to a permanent social environment. All these adjustments were among the problems of the second Christian century.

THE MONTANIST PROTEST

Out of interior Asia Minor came a protest about the year 160 against these tendencies of adjustment to environment. Those interior hills and valleys nourished a spirit of conservatism and fanaticism which was quite different from the current Christianity of the towns. The rural regions as always preserved longest the primitive type. Their spokesman in this instance was Montanus, a native of the Phrygian border, assisted by Priscilla and Maximilla, who were regarded as prophetesses. They were subject to trances, which gave their oracles greater authority among those who believed in them. They declared themselves to be inspired to proclaim that the age of prophecy was not past, that God still had a message for His people, and that through them He was recalling the churches to their first love. Montanist churches had their clergy, for they were churches of Christians, but the people placed their prophets above the regular clergy. These prophets protested against the increasing worldliness of the church, and announced that the day of the Lord was at hand, the day that the first Christians had awaited so eagerly and that had been so long delayed in coming. Christ was to reign a thousand years on earth before his heavenly kingdom should begin. This was the doctrine of Chiliasm which was held by many orthodox Christians, though opposed by the Alexandrians. Montanus urged his followers to prepare for the Second Advent by purifying themselves and watching for the appearing of Christ. He advocated such asceticism as fasting and celibacy. Asceticism was to find a place in Christian monasticism and to become a part of the Catholic system, but that time was not yet. It was with the Montanists a part of the reaction against the accommodation of Christian living to social customs. Montanus declared that it was the Holy Spirit which revealed to him his message, and explained that the dispensation of the Spirit promised by Christ was thus begun. It was in this second century that the belief in the Spirit as differentiated from Christ became the general belief of Christians, and the doctrine of a Trinity became prominent.

The people of Phrygia responded with enthusiasm, as they had

responded to the priests of Cybele, the earth mother, in the same part of Asia Minor. Many persons who did not attach themselves to the Montanist groups were sympathetic with the protest against worldliness or with the idea that the canon of Scripture was not yet closed to those whom God should inspire. Certain of the leaders of orthodoxy were disturbed over this first defection from the regular organization of Christians, though the Montanists taught no doctrinal heresy. From Asia Minor Montanism spread across the strait to Europe. Proclus, one of its spokesmen, hastened to Rome, and like many other nonconformists or imitators tried in the capital city to win adherents. For some time, however, it did not seem likely that Montanism would bring about a separation of the new enthusiasts from the Church, but as it grew in strength opposition arose. Synods were called and expressed disapproval. Writers denounced it as a work of demons. At length toward the close of the second century the Montanists of Phrygia created separate congregations. It was a great gain to their cause when Tertullian of Carthage became a Montanist convert, attracted by the ascetic principle. Yet it was not long before enthusiasm waned as the prophets died and Christ did not come, and in the fourth century Montanism was condemned by the important synod of Laodicea. In the general council of Constantinople, meeting in 381, it was decided that Montanists were to be regarded as pagans, and if they asked for admission into the regular churches they were to be exorcised, catechised, and rebaptized. Once Christianity had become the religion of the empire there was a disposition to treat harshly all such unconventional movements. Montanism was a revival of primitive Christianity with no power to perpetuate its protest or maintain its standards, and even if its principles were valid it was ill fitted to become the religion of the Roman Empire and the teacher of ancient religious culture to later time.

WORSHIP AND THE SACRAMENTS

The customs of worship are an example of the departure of most Christians from the primitive simplicity. For a long time it was the Christian custom to meet in private houses or rented halls before it was practicable to build church buildings. The poverty and the frequent hostility of government delayed building until late in the second century. Christians met frequently but on Sunday with regularity, choosing that day in preference to the Jewish Sabbath as the glad day of the resurrection of Jesus. The services were simple at

first. The Christian believers talked and prayed together, read from the rolls of Scripture, sang psalms from the Hebrew Psalter, and listened to an address or exhortation. Slaves never could be sure of attending Sunday morning worship, but Christians of all classes as far as possible got together for the evening meal. From these simple beginnings developed a cultus which grew more elaborate. The spontaneous character of worship changed as the organization of the Church became more definite. According to the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles a fixed order of worship came into vogue early, and stereotyped forms of prayer were used habitually.

BAPTISM AND THE LORD'S SUPPER

In the days of the Christian beginnings the groups of believers baptized those who wished to join their number in the name of Jesus as a rite of initiation symbolic of spiritual cleansing. At first the converts were admitted to baptism on a simple confession of faith in Jesus. To many persons who were familiar with mysteries and magical rites baptism seemed to be a means to salvation, and before many years parents were bringing their children for baptism. It was difficult to escape the conviction that an act so much like the mysteries was efficacious as a sacrament, quite apart from an inner motive or experience.

Some people objected to infant baptism on the ground that it was better to wait until later in life in order that baptism might cleanse from much sin, but it became a common practice by the third century. It was necessary that young people who had been baptized in infancy and new converts to Christianity should be taught the rudiments of the Christian faith through a period known as the catechumenate, and at the end of it they received confirmation at the hands of the bishop. The original mode of baptism was by immersion, but after a time it became modified to pouring or sprinkling water upon those who were sick, a practice called clinical baptism, and the practice was extended to others. Yet until late in the Middle Ages the form of immersion was the official one in the West and has remained customary in the East.

The second century brought a more elaborate ceremony of baptism. Tertullian of Carthage referred to baptism as a *sacramentum* with magical efficacy. For all except infants baptism was preceded by fasting, and was followed by anointing, a taste of honey and milk, and the kiss of peace. Baptism was by this time in the name

of the Trinity. As a part of the ceremony the candidate renounced the Devil and all his works and confessed his faith in a simple formula, like the Apostles' Creed, which in its original form was the baptismal confession used in the church at Rome. Before a sharp distinction was made between clergy and laity anyone might administer Christian baptism, but the tendency was to limit it to the clergy, and some denied the validity of baptism in a heretical sect. With so much stress on proper procedure it became a mooted question whether baptism administered by an unorthodox Christian should be valid in the Catholic Church, but the influence of the Bishop of Rome was in favor of the value of the sacrament regardless of the character or the particular faith of the administrator.

The Lord's Supper, though at first a simple memorial, promptly became a sacrament, as did baptism. The process of transformation began with its separation from the *agape*, or common meal, and its celebration at the morning worship. Prayers of thanksgiving which accompanied it gave it the name of the eucharist. Justin in the second century spoke of a transformation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, by which the communicant is nourished. The influence of the mystery religions may have hastened this conception. The idea of a magical but real presence of Christ in the eucharist was accepted long before it was described by the medieval Catholic term of transubstantiation. Tertullian introduced into the Christian vocabulary the word *sacerdos* as well as *sacramentum*. This Latin term for priest is an indication that the Lord's Supper was coming to be thought of as a sacrifice which the priest offered to God for the people as Christ had offered his own body on the cross, thus making God friendly. This was the characteristic idea of the mass, which as a development of the eucharist, with numerous accessories of worship, became the principal expression of religion in the Catholic Church, and has so continued. It was a conception that was bred by the influence of paganism and nourished by the superstition of the Middle Ages.

Though Jesus had shown emphatically how relatively unimportant were the externals of religion, it was impossible that people who inherited fixed traditions and customs in religion should be able to escape from profound awe in the presence of mystery, a lingering belief in magic, and a liking for ceremonial. To most persons the sacraments seemed a necessary means of religious experience of divine realities. As an aid to spiritual experience they had real value, but

too often they became a substitute for a personal commitment to God of will and purpose. Trust in the sacrament transferred personal responsibility from the individual to the priest, and minimized the basic principles of Jesus, which stressed personal attitude and conduct. Sacramentalism and sacerdotalism became characteristics of Catholicism.

THE PROBLEM OF DOCTRINE

A problem of peculiar difficulty was the problem of doctrine. The early Christians believed in Jesus. They did not analyze that belief. They accepted him for what he claimed to be—their Master and Teacher. They did not philosophize about him, but they believed that he was the coming prince in the kingdom of God. They repeated the things that he had said and handed them down by oral tradition. His teaching was not theoretical, but made up of practical principles. God was a loving Father. Jesus himself lived for the sake of his followers as their Brother. The power of the divine was theirs if they would use it, theirs to build character, theirs to give strength and understanding in the issues of life, theirs to lean on in the hour of death. And in and through all life, personal and social, was the Spirit of God winning a kingdom among men. It was as if an expert physicist should say: Here is the wonderful power of electricity. It is yours to use for material comfort, yours for the transmission of your thoughts and the melody of your hearts, yours to learn how to use more successfully through all time. Take it and see how well it works. The religion of Jesus was for use, for practical experiment, and when used to the full it transformed life.

But as Christian missionaries made their way into the Hellenic environment they were met with the question, Who is Jesus Christ? It was not enough to say as one would to a Jew, "He is the Messiah," or to an unlearned Christian to say, "He was Jesus of Nazareth in the flesh, but he has become the eternal Christ of religious experience, the Savior of mankind, the Lord of human hearts." Other religions were predicating saviors and lords. Was there nothing more distinctive to be said about Christ? The thoughtful Greek wished to know how Jesus Christ could be fitted into the framework of his thought. If he was more than man, what relation was he to God? The early Christians very promptly accepted the divinity of Jesus, an easy process of thought for a Gentile, who in his demonology believed in many grades of divinity, more difficult for a Jew with his loyalty to

monotheism. Paul was explicit in his recognition of the unique divinity of Christ, but Paul's ideas were not favorite ways of thinking of Christians of the second century. Varieties of explanation were offered by certain teachers whom Paul branded as false. The Fourth Gospel emphasized the incarnation, the appearance in human flesh of God Himself. The theological expression which the writer used was the word "Logos," a word in current philosophical use to indicate the rational nature of God pervading the world. It was a word of Greek mintage, in circulation among Platonists and Stoics both, but it had been stamped by Philo of Alexandria with Jewish significance, and the author of the Fourth Gospel took the current idea, personified the Logos, and applied it to Jesus Christ as the incarnate Son of God. Christ then was the express image of his person, the Word of God, God Himself in the world of men. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. Through the Logos God functioned to satisfy man's need. The incarnation became the central doctrine of faith to Greek Christians, as important as the atonement became to the Christians of the West.

If Christ was truly God, it became necessary to define the divine being, and the second century brought the Trinitarian problem to the forefront of Christian thinking. It was no less important to explain how Jesus Christ could be at the same time both God and man. Christian people had to work their way through the Gnostic thinking, to reconcile ideas of Jewish religion and Greek philosophy, to defend their faith against its traducers and its rivals, and to thresh out the issues in the future in general councils.

THE Gnostics

In the absence of any universally accepted definition of Christian doctrine there was room for wide diversity of opinion about many items of faith. It would take time for the Christian mind to standardize its religious ideas. Christian thinkers were affected by current pagan ideas about religion, and it was the tendency of the age to select what seemed to be the best thought in various systems and bring them all into a synthesis.

The synthetic tendency in the East had produced the Gnostics, who were still prominent in the second century when Christian thought was in the formative period. The man who would rationalize his thinking was faced with problems metaphysical, ethical and religious. What was the relation of the absolute Deity to the world of

matter? How is the evil in the world to be explained? What values are in the various religions that demand credence? Particularly, where should this new religion of Christianity that was growing so fast be placed with the other religions of the time? In attempting to answer such questions the Gnostics produced a blend of philosophy which was a syncretism of Oriental, Jewish and Greek thought, with additions from Christian sources. The Persian religion taught a dualism between the spiritual and the material, and Platonic philosophy made God removed from contacts with evil matter. Two consequences came out of this conception. The creator of the world could not have been God, but an inferior being whom the Gnostics called the Demiurge and identified with the Old Testament Yahweh. Christ could not have lived an actual human life and preserve his sanctity. He was one of a gradation of spirits, or æons, and did not really acquire human nature, though he seemed to. Those who held this one-sided opinion about the nature of Christ are known as Docetists. Dualism, docetism, and the doctrine of the Demiurge, were three constants in the variety of Gnostic teachings. Gnosticism lacked unity. Saturninus was the exponent of Syrian Gnosticism, Valentinus and Basilides of the Alexandrian type. Not many of the Gnostics were Christians, but they incorporated Christian ideas into their system, and counted their special knowledge as a better means of salvation than the faith of the unlearned.

Gnosticism as taught in the second century had also as constant factors, first, a belief in a *pleroma*, a spirit world of light in which God dwells, where He is attended by angels of light and where the illuminated shall be admitted; second, a series of æons, or spirits, linking God and man; third, a world of matter, the theater of evil powers, in which the soul once a fragment of the world of light had become enmeshed; fourth, a possible salvation for those who became mystically illuminated through the spirit of Christ and through the cultivation of the soul by worship. In general the Gnostics discarded Judaism and its Old Testament as not illuminated, favored asceticism as a means of weakening the hold of matter, and opposed marriage when it could be avoided. The Encratites were an extreme kind of ascetic Gnostics.

Marcion of Pontus was a teacher of a semi-Gnosticism at Rome, in which docetism and asceticism were prominent. But his teaching is less emphatically intellectual, less speculative than that of other Gnostics. His special interest was ethical and he prized especially the

teachings of Paul, which he believed had been neglected by the Christian Church. Particularly did he stress Paul's God of grace who was so contrary to the God of the Old Testament. Certain writers of the second century, notably the author of the letter of Barnabas and Marcion, were reluctant to admit the debt of the Christians to the Jews. Marcion insisted that Christians were putting too much emphasis on legalism and too little on faith in the good God. In his strong reaction from current Christianity with its Jewish background he, like the Gnostics, rejected the authority of the Old Testament, and in his liking for Paul's writings he selected Paul's letters together with the Gospel of Luke as a proper canon of sacred writings. This expurgated version of Scripture hastened the process of determining the orthodox New Testament canon. The influence of Marcion was powerful over an association of his followers, called Marcionists, and he was denounced by orthodox leaders of the Church.

EFFECTS OF GNOSTICISM

By boring within the Christian groups the Gnostics tried to make headway for their syncretism of ideas. Regarding themselves as an aristocracy of knowledge, they made salvation from the entanglement of matter the result of enlightenment rather than of faith, though faith gave a certain freedom, and theology a product of intellect rather than of experience. Such teaching was harmful to a spiritual Christianity because it threatened to divert it from its main function of transforming the life of all who would give it trial. It was un-Christian in its teaching that God was not the maker of the world and the father of its folk, but an absolute being far removed from contact with the world; that the Christ of God did not live actually a human life; and that matter was essentially evil.

Gnosticism had a profound influence in shaping the practices and institutions of Christianity. Its emphasis on the value of the cultus as a means of illumination fell in with the Christian tendency to make worship formal. The ascetic tendency of the Gnostics reappeared in Christian monasticism. Its claim to spirit-filled teachers accelerated the Christian tendency to discard unregulated exhorters in favor of regularly appointed leaders who should protect the churches against heresy.

The competition with Gnosticism compelled the Christians to define and defend their faith, and supplied certain of the technical terms of later theology. With the aid of apologists and teachers the

Church worked itself free from Gnosticism, but not until Gnosticism had left its mark upon theology. Lest unlearned Christians be led astray by theological vagaries, several of the eminent champions of orthodoxy drew up simple statements of belief as rules of faith. One of the first to do this was Ignatius of Antioch, who in opposition to the docetic idea emphasized in his statement the reality of the human life of Jesus, who was, as he said, "truly born, ate and drank, truly suffered persecution under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died, who was also truly raised from the dead, his Father raising him up." Such rules of faith as this became standards in the local churches, and later they were elaborated into creeds, like the Apostles' Creed. Most of the authors of rules of faith were pastors of churches, and the need of authoritative interpreters of the faith strengthened their positions as bishops. This was one of the leading consequences of Gnosticism.

CHRISTIAN CENTERS

In spite of the gravity of all these problems Christianity was gaining in strength and clarity. If one had circled the Mediterranean lands toward the end of the second Christian century he would have seen Christian bishops guiding the Christian life of thousands of believers, writing books in defense of Christianity or in explanation of its doctrines, and so helping on the movement which advanced steadily to the conquest of the empire. He might have journeyed out from Jerusalem as the religion of Jesus did and come to Cæsarea within the bounds of Palestine. There where the Roman headquarters had been in Paul's day was a Christian school two hundred years later, a school where Origen taught, the master theologian of his time. There a century later still lived Eusebius, eulogist of the Emperor Constantine, historian of the early Church, and at the first general council of the Church contributor of a creed which proved the basis of the Nicene Creed.

Farther up the coast at Antioch was the prominent church which had commissioned Paul as missionary to Asia Minor. One of the first bishops in any of the churches was Ignatius of Antioch, who suffered martyrdom early in the second century. There in the third century one of its bishops, Paul of Samosata, championed the Monarchian theory that Christ was but human until he was energized by the Spirit of God. There was developing a school of theological thought which was to oppose its critical theories to the mystical, allegorical school of Alexandria. These two schools were rivals in the

prolonged theological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries. Aside from its prominence as a theological center for Christianity the city remained important for its pagan influences and as a mart of commerce.

One might take ship from Antioch and rounding the southern coast of Asia Minor sail north into the Ægean Sea and land at Ephesus or Smyrna. In pagan days the worship of Artemis was as conspicuous at Ephesus as was that of Daphne at Antioch. There Paul had lingered long and according to tradition was succeeded later by the Apostle John as the leader of the Christian people. To them and the neighboring churches the letter to the Ephesians was written. For long it was the center of Christian influence in that whole region. A visit to Smyrna early in the second century would have found Polycarp faithfully serving his church as its bishop, soon to be a victim of persecution. His friend Papias, who collected materials for the life story of Jesus, was bishop of Hierapolis. Beyond were churches at the stopping places of Paul on his first missionary tour into Macedonia and Greece.

If a curious investigator turned south from Jerusalem for his survey instead of north he would be impressed with the prominence of the church at Alexandria. There in a pagan environment which bristled with the controversies of Gnostics and Jews, of Greeks and Syrians, Christians found that they must school themselves to defend their own claims to a hearing. Therefore they founded there a catechetical school in the second century and commandeered the ablest teachers they could find. Clement and Origen lectured to Christians and pagans both who cared to listen to them, wrote textbooks and other contributions to Christian thought and interpretation, and cared little who wielded the scepter of episcopal authority in that city if they were unmolested. There fifty years later Origen developed that school of thought which rivaled the school of Antioch, and was championed by Athanasius in the controversy over the Trinity which Arius precipitated in the Alexandrian church and by Cyril in the Christological controversy over Nestorius of the Antiochian school. The rank and file of members in the church of Alexandria knew nothing of the merits of the controversy, but they could supply moral support to their bishop and could shout their theological songs along the streets of the city. And so intolerant of paganism were those Alexandrians that Cyril's fanatical monks could murder the gentle scholar Hypatia, the most brilliant of the later Greek philosophers.

More edifying is the spectacle of Tertullian at Carthage, far west along the African coast, valiantly standing for his puritan principles among Christians who were feeling the worldly influence of the great city about 200 A.D., and writing his theological ideas in the Latin language instead of the Greek. Or one could find Cyprian there a half century later contending for loyal support of the Catholic faith and the prestige of the bishop's office.

Across the sea in Europe the survey would include Lyons in Gaul where Irenæus labored and wrote his defense of Christianity against the Gnostics, and Rome with its growing prominence as a Christian center.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. How did the early organization of the Church become more definite and authoritative?
2. How far was Gnosticism Christian?
3. What were the attractive features of Christianity to pagan people?
4. Where did Christianity extend to by the year 100? by the year 200?
5. Was it more difficult for Christianity to adjust itself to its pagan environment in the Roman Empire than in modern China?
6. Why should Montanism have sprung up when and where it did? What was its protest?
7. How did the idea of the sacrament become acclimated in the Church?
8. What were the origins of the idea of the Logos?
9. What were the distinctive tenets of the followers of Marcion?
10. What effect did Gnosticism have on Christian literature?

For class discussion or debate

1. Resolved, that more spiritual values were in Gnosticism than in Montanism.
2. Was Marcion a Gnostic?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. Christian family life.
2. The country of Phrygia.
3. Hypatia.

For longer written essays

1. The tenets of Gnosticism.
2. The use of the word Logos among Platonists and Stoics.
3. The musical element in worship.
4. Early rules of faith.

For conference and examination

1. Belief in matter as evil: a study in comparative religion.

For maps and tables

1. An outline map marked by the Christian centers of population.
2. Make a comparative table of the Platonic, Stoic, Gnostic, and Christian conceptions of God.

READING REFERENCES

Sources

AYER. A Source Book for Ancient Church History
 Letters of Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp and Barnabas
 Epistles of the Apostles
 Teaching of the Twelve Apostles
 Epistle to Diognetus
 Odes of Solomon
 JUSTIN MARTYR. Apology; Dialogue with Trypho
 IRENÆUS. Against Heresies
 TERTULLIAN. Against Marcion.
 EUSEBIUS. Ecclesiastical History
 SCHAFF. Creeds of Christendom.

Secondary Guides

PFLEIDERER. Christian Origins
 DOBSCHUTZ. Christian Life in the Primitive Church.
 ALLEN. Christian Institutions.
 LIGHTFOOT. The Christian Ministry
 HARNACK. Constitution and Law of the Church
 HATCH. Organization of the Early Christian Churches
 RAINY. The Ancient Catholic Church
 HATCH. Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church
 INGE. "Logos," article in Hastings' Dictionary of Religion and Ethics
 SCOTT. "Gnosticism," article in Hastings' Dictionary of Religion and Ethics
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 DE SOYRE. Montanism
 BROWN. Stoics and Saints

CHAPTER VI

CHRISTIAN WRITERS AND THINKERS

MEMOIRS OF JESUS

THE Christian people did not depend at first on written sources for their faith. They accepted the Old Testament as sacred for them as well as for the Jews, but the New Testament was created and collected gradually. For four or five decades after the death of Jesus the story of his life and message was transmitted orally. The memory of the Orient was not dependent on books, and as long as the expectation of the Second Coming remained vivid written memorials seemed unnecessary. As late as the early part of the second century Papias, a Christian bishop of Asia Minor, collected the tradition as it had been passed down orally. But long before that time sketches of the acts of Jesus were written out and his sayings were collected.

The earliest of these was the Gospel according to Mark. It is a simple, vivid narrative of Jesus in the midst of his activities such as would appeal to the popular mind. A few years later another writer wrote the Gospel of Matthew. He probably had before him the earlier account of Mark and a collection of the sayings of Jesus. The story is fuller but less picturesque than Mark's. It supplied a norm for accounts of the life of Jesus, and provided an interpretation of his acts as fulfillments of Old Testament prophecy. Because of the high regard in which it was held, it was placed as the first of the Gospels at the very beginning of the New Testament collection. These Gospels were supplemented by the Greek account of Luke. In the Gospel according to Luke Gentile Christians had an orderly sketch of the events and the teachings of Jesus, which showed particularly his kindly spirit toward the poor and the foreigner. The memoir was planned as one of two or more accounts of the rise of Christianity, and is more orderly in its development than the other Gospels. In a fourth memoir, the Gospel according to John, still another attempt was made, perhaps not later than the end of the first century, to narrate events connected with the life of Jesus, including incidents which

had not been recorded by others, and to interpret the mind and character of Jesus in language familiar to the religious thinkers of the Hellenistic age. Its emphasis upon light and life through the Son of God and an ever-present spirit of truth and power animating the believer gave it a popularity which has lasted through the centuries.

LETTERS OF PAUL AND OTHER WRITINGS

As soon as the first written Gospels were available they were read in the churches. Every church had its collection of manuscript rolls, which were prized highly. Besides one or more Gospels were letters of Paul, which antedated the Gospels. Paul wrote these from time to time on his travels that he might give counsel or comfort when he was unable to visit the groups of Christians which he had organized. Some of them were composed principally of practical admonitions and reminders of his presence with them. Others contained discussions of religious opinions and cautions against mistaken ideas. Here and there the writer becomes eloquent in his expression of faith in Jesus and hope for the life to come. The earliest of Paul's extant epistles was very likely the letter to the Galatians. He had made his first missionary journey among them after he had been commissioned at Antioch. He was disturbed by the report that Judaizers had been at work trying to make the Gentile Christians believe that they must become Jewish proselytes, and he reminded them forcibly that he had given them a gospel of liberty and showed the grounds of their freedom. About the same time Paul wrote his first letter to the Thessalonians. It shows the affection of Paul for those who had accepted his teachings and his pleasure in their faithfulness, but his anxiety lest they should become idle and careless, should fail to keep peace in their ranks, and should misunderstand the truth about death and the resurrection. A second letter reënforced his instructions about the Second Coming. These two letters were written from Corinth. The three letters reveal Paul on two sides of his nature, the first two the writings of the affectionate pastor, the other of an intrepid leader of a great cause. While Paul was in Ephesus he wrote to his Corinthian disciples a letter of appeal for better moral living and a discussion of important doctrines like the resurrection, and later two other letters to the same church. Only the first and third letters are extant. In the last he rejoiced in the news that had come to him that the Corinthians had mended their ways, but he condemned faction in the church and reminded them of their high calling as Christians.

The outstanding letter of Paul was written to the Christians at Rome. He was anticipating a visit to Rome and he undertook to explain the great doctrines of Christianity as he understood them, including justification, sanctification, and the connection between Christianity and Judaism. Nor did he forget to give them needed moral advice. Again as in Galatians he rejoiced in the freedom of the Gospel as contrasted with Jewish bondage to the law. The letter displays a power of thought and a strength of will which distinguished Paul among the Christian leaders and gave him the commanding position which he occupied in interpreting the religion of Jesus to the Gentiles. Contrary to his expectation Paul went to Rome a prisoner. During his confinement he thought much about the churches he had planted, and he received news and sent letters through assistants who visited him from time to time. The theme of his letters to the Colossians in Asia Minor was the significance of Jesus, in whom the Christians should have spiritual unity and communion. That thought was reiterated in a circular letter addressed to the Ephesian Christians, and intended probably as a summary of the meditations of his later years. Last of all his letters to the churches was his pæan of gratitude to the Christians of Philippi in Macedonia, who had been faithful and generous and in whom he took pride as his children in the Christian faith. Paul's letters were eminently practical, but at the same time they contained much of his thought, and out of them it is possible to construct the framework of his theology.

FORMATION OF THE CANON

Although the letters of Paul were written to special groups of Christians they were welcomed by the churches everywhere, because they had their message for all. In the cosmopolitan life of the empire social conditions were similar and the ideas of one group or community readily passed current in another. Paul's letters and the Gospels speedily came to be esteemed as worthy of a place in a new collection of sacred writings. With them were other documents that received the ultimate approval of the Christian people. The Acts of the Apostles was written by Luke to explain the beginnings of Christian progress. A number of brief letters bearing the names of Christian leaders circulated in local circles; the anonymous letter to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse ascribed to the Apostle John, appealed to Christians both Jews and Gentiles. With the high estimate held of the Old Testament it required time to determine a New Testament

canon. Nor was there any one authority to decide which of the Christian writings deserved a place in such a canon. Not a few documents besides those mentioned were current, some orthodox but legendary, others emanating from Gnostic writers. From such writings came later a New Testament Apocrypha. But gradually by a tacit consensus of Christian opinion a sifting process determined the selection.

Writings like Acts and the letters to Timothy and Titus received acceptance as deserving inclusion in the canon, but less known documents such as the general epistles were slower to receive recognition. Some of them were esteemed in the East and others in the West, as shown by two documentary evidences, one the Syriac Bible of the East, an early version, and the other the Muratorian Fragment, a list discovered in the eighteenth century. In the course of the third century the agreement became more complete, and in the fourth century official sanction was given by synods in North Africa. The *Festal Letter* of Athanasius dating from 367 contains the names of twenty-six books of the New Testament, the same as now. The test of the value of the several writings was their ancient origin and their apostolic character.

The early Christians could not foresee the later history of the Bible which they thus fashioned. They did not see Jerome in the fourth century, taking the Old Latin version in use in North Africa and revising it to correct the imperfections of the copyists, making a new Vulgate version that was to be the Bible of the Roman Catholic Church. They did not see medieval monks in their chilly quarters laboriously reproducing manuscripts that were crumbling with age. They did not catch the vision of Wycliffe when in the fourteenth century he translated the Vulgate Latin into English in order that every peasant might read the Gospel for himself instead of trusting to the priest. They did not thrill at the danger faced by Tyndale in the sixteenth century when he fled to the Continent of Europe to make a more perfect English translation from the Hebrew and Greek originals contrary to the wishes of King Henry VIII. They could not sympathize with the desire of the Puritan refugees at Geneva for their own Geneva Bible, or with the wish of the Anglican Church for the Authorized Version of King James I. And they did not dream that after nineteen Christian centuries their Bible would be translated into every known heathen tongue by industrious missionaries, be printed by whirling presses, and for generations remain the best seller, among the multitude of the world's books. But they made

the selections among the manuscript rolls of the churches, and the Christian world has approved their choice.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Aside from the New Testament few important Christian writings existed before the middle of the second century. But practical problems of Christian life or church administration prompted several writers to express their opinions, and they are spoken of as the Apostolic Fathers. The documents show the trend that was taking place in Christian development. The earliest of these writers was Clement of Rome, who about the year 96 wrote to the Christians at Corinth a letter of friendly counsel such as Paul used to write. He blamed them for factious differences and lack of appreciation of certain of their leaders, and compared the leaders to the Levitical priesthood of the Hebrews and the military order of Rome. Clement was doubtless the leader of the Roman Christians, but it is unlikely that he was the single bishop of the church there. Ignatius, head of the church at Antioch, was apparently the first bishop of a prominent church in distinction from presbyters. He wrote several letters to Christian churches as he traveled to Rome expecting martyrdom about the year 115. In these letters he emphasized the importance of the bishop's office. Polycarp, an aged bishop of the church at Smyrna, who also suffered death for his faith in the same period, wrote an affectionate letter to the church at Philippi. None of these letters are statements of doctrine or systematic discussions of organization or worship, but they indicate some of the matters which seem to have been uppermost in the thought of certain representative Christian leaders.

A fourth letter of the same period bears the name of Barnabas, though there is no evidence that the companion of Paul wrote it. The fashion of those days was to attach a well-known name to a writing in order to give it more authority. The unknown author was concerned chiefly with discussing the relation of Christianity to Judaism, but he treated also the contrast between the Christian way and the way of evil. In doing this he made use of an earlier document called the *Two Ways*. That writing was incorporated into the *Didache* also. The *Didache*, or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, was discovered as recently as 1883. It originated in Syria or Egypt not far from the turn of the century, and was influential among the churches of the Near East. While the first part of the *Didache* was didactic, the second

part dealt with church ordinances, the ministry, and the Second Coming of Christ. A sixth document which dates from the end of the Apostolic Age is the *Shepherd of Hermas*, which was so highly esteemed that it was read frequently at services of worship and like the *Didache* was considered by many persons to be worthy of a place in the New Testament. In a series of visions the writer pictured the Church allegorically in the midst of its Roman environment, and introduced a shepherd to bring a message of repentance to individual Christians. It is ethical in character rather than theological, throwing light on the difficulty of Christian living in an unfriendly world.

In 1919 was published a document surviving in Egyptian manuscripts which bears the title of the *Epistle of the Apostles*. It probably dates from about the year 140, judging from internal evidences. It is partly apocalyptic in character, partly admonitory regarding the dangers of Gnosticism. It adds to the testimony of the *Didache* that the Christian people were as yet pre-Catholic in their ideas, but that the times were compelling adjustments. Some time later than these documents belongs the sermon known as Second Clement, which for a long time was thought to be a second letter written by Clement of Rome. It is from such writings as these, supplemented by later evidences, that the historian is able to piece together the facts about a period of early Christian history that is obscure so far as reliable sources of information are available.

THE APOLOGISTS

A third group of writers supplies sources for the history of the second century. As that century advanced more intellectual men joined the Christians. Rival systems of thought, especially Gnosticism, pagan hostility, charges of immorality, and certain literary attacks from the skeptics Lucian and Celsus, compelled such men to come to a systematic defense of Christianity. These defenders are known as the apologists. Usually they were men who had been educated in classical culture, and they were recognized leaders in the churches. They denied the charges made against the Christians, refuted the criticism of the Jews, addressed the emperor or the senate in a plea for justice, contended against Gnosticism and paganism, and tried to preserve traditional teachings which had come down from the Apostolic Age.

During the second century the apologists reflected Greek ideas and wrote in the Greek language. Athenagoras used philosophy to defend Christianity. Aristides in a document discovered within recent dec-

ades set forth Christianity as the highest development of ancient religion. Latin apologists in the third century argued like Roman lawyers, and aggressively attacked paganism with strong confidence in the coming victory of their faith. Minucius Felix, a Roman lawyer, was perhaps the first apologist to use the Latin language in defining Christianity. Latin apologists were less concerned with the intellectual justification of Christianity than with the practical need of defense. They appealed to law and to the good sense of those to whom they wrote.

Justin Martyr (100-165) is the best-known representative of the apologists. He was of heathen parentage and trained in Greek philosophy in the schools of Asia Minor. The later part of his life was spent at Rome, where he taught Christian beliefs as he had opportunity and wrote contributions to apologetic literature. He suffered a martyr's death in the persecution under Marcus Aurelius. His principal writings were his first *Apology* and his *Dialogue* with the Jew Tryphon. In the *Apology* he defended the Christians against reproaches, pointed out how Christianity fulfilled prophecy, and explained the mode of Christian worship. In the *Dialogue* he tried to show the superiority of Christianity to Judaism, and told of his own long search for truth from Stoicism to Platonism and eventually to Christianity. Justin never lost his philosophical way of thinking, and he remained essentially an intellectual leader, finding in God illumination of mind rather than any experience of sins forgiven. He tried to justify rationally the spiritual religion of Jesus, taking the idea of the Logos, which had been used in turn by Plato, Philo, and the author of the Fourth Gospel, and was then current among philosophers, to define the expression of God's nature in revelation to man. Unlike most Christian apologists he credited to the Logos the inspiration of Hebrew seers and sages, but he believed that in Christ the incarnate Logos made his special saving revelation.

The net result of the writings of the apologists was to dignify Christianity and give it a place as a reasoned system of thought, not merely as a passing spiritual impulse.

IRENÆUS AND THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH

Certain men of greater prominence than most of those mentioned as apologists are called distinctively Church Fathers, though certain of their writings classify as apologies. Toward the end of the second century two men of special eminence were constructive champions of

Christianity near the western frontier of civilization. One of these was Irenæus (120-202), the Bishop of Lyons in Gaul. Since the time of Julius Cæsar Gaul had been a part of the Roman Empire, but like western America it had no long heritage of culture. Irenæus came from Asia Minor and was reputed to be a disciple of Polycarp, as Polycarp was said to be a former pupil of the Apostle John. Irenæus was well fitted by his nature and training to interpret the East to the West. Mystical by inclination, but in his ecclesiastical position a champion of the Church and its bishops against heretics, he was able to see values in both inner experience and external institutions. He was a theologian, centering his thought like other Greek Fathers in the incarnation of Christ, but he was more interested in the vital relation of the Son to the Father than in any philosophical explanation of the Logos. His theory of salvation included the remission of the sins of the past and the impartation of a new spiritual life for the future; to that end he regarded baptism as an effective means. He wrote a refutation of the Gnostic heresy, in which he defended elaborately the faith in which he believed. In an age of considerable diversity of thinking he emphasized apostolic tradition as the Christian norm, and inclined to make the church at Rome an umpire in Church disputes. His is the greatest name in the Church of the second century, and he is credited with being the builder of the Old Catholic Church.

Catholicism is characterized by unity, authority, and its priestly system. The Christian Church may properly be called Catholic when it had added to its primitive unity of brotherly love and faith in Jesus a corporate unity of all the churches under an episcopal organization; when it had accepted a body of doctrine as a tradition coming down from the apostles and preserved in those churches which were of apostolic foundation; and when it possessed in the sacraments certain efficacious mysteries received through ministering priests. The growing sense of corporate unity, the canonization of New Testament Scripture, and the standardization of organization, worship, and theology, were bringing the churches into a catholic consciousness by the last quarter of the second Christian century. Not yet was that Catholicism Roman. The Bishop of Rome was but one of many Christian pastors, though according to tradition his church enjoyed the special dignity of apostolic foundation and the prestige possessed by the capital of the Roman Empire. But the Christian people had created a system which served as a norm by which to test Gnosticism, Monta-

nism, and other unconventional varieties of Christianity. The participant in that system was a member of the Church Universal, orthodox in belief, conforming to the best usage in Christian practice, and obedient to the authority of his bishop. Because Irenæus lived and taught at a time when this Catholicism came into vogue and had a prominent part in fixing the system, he is spoken of as the founder of the Old Catholic Church.

TERTULLIAN, THE LATIN FATHER

By the end of the second century the Latin influence was becoming stronger as Christianity got a grip on the West. North Africa rather than Rome was the field in which Latin theology developed. Of the early Latin Fathers Tertullian of Carthage (c. 160-220) is the most renowned, and next to Augustine of Hippo he was the greatest exponent of the Western Christian mind in ancient time. He was educated for the law, and he used legal language in certain of his theological definitions. He introduced certain words into the theological vocabulary, like "substance" and "merit." He brought the word "Trinity" into theological use, and made the personality of the Holy Spirit distinct. While he was not ignorant of Greek thought, philosophy was to him a minor matter, and he was not particularly interested in fitting religion into the intellectual framework of contemporary thinking.

As an apologist Tertullian defended Christianity in a masterly address written to the emperor. As a theologian he anticipated the later definitions of the Trinity, and really formulated the content of that doctrine. Tertullian was not afraid to discuss the difficult problem of the Logos, but preferred to speak of Christ practically as the Son of God rather than mystically in a supramundane existence. He distinguished the two natures in Christ in a way that foreshadowed the later thinking of the Greek Fathers. Because of these contributions to Latin Christian thinking, Tertullian made it unnecessary for the Latins to wrestle with those theological problems as the Greeks did for a century and a half. He anticipated Augustine by two centuries in his formulation of the doctrine of original sin and in his acceptance of the principle of divine grace, but thought that man is no manikin to be manipulated solely by divine control.

Up to the year 207 Tertullian accepted the traditional authority of the Catholic Church, but Montanism attracted him by its ascetic principle and he became a member of that sect. He was a puritan

in his emphasis on moral living. His experience of conversion from irresponsible worldliness to purity of life made him sensitive to sin and inclined to stress salvation from sin as more important than the illumination of the mind. He distinguished between venial sins, which might be forgiven on the authority of the bishop, and deadly sins like licentiousness and murder, which were beyond that power. Tertullian wrote much on morals and so helped to establish Christian standards. His official position in the church at Carthage was never higher than that of presbyter, but his influence was equal to that of any bishop. He was keen and often caustic in style, and was disliked by Catholic Christians after he had joined the Montanists. This explains why he was never canonized as a saint in spite of his great contributions to Christian literature.

CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS

If Christian presbyters and apologists were to hold their own against the various kinds of opposition which they were to meet, and catechumens were to understand Christianity and not be led astray intellectually, schools were desirable. The earliest disciples had sat at the feet of Jesus, and the Twelve constituted a sort of peripatetic theological school. Youths of the second and third generations enjoyed the training of the higher schools of rhetoric and philosophy. In the churches the pastors instructed the young in apostolic tradition and in the Bible, but late in the second century this elementary instruction was supplemented by the establishment of a catechetical school at Alexandria traditionally credited to Pantænus, where the method of Socrates was used. This became the most renowned of the Christian schools, but others of prominence existed at Antioch, Cæsarea, Jerusalem, Edessa, Carthage and elsewhere.

Alexandria enjoyed such a reputation as an educational center that it was the logical place for a great Christian school. It had replaced Athens, which had no such library, as the center of Hellenic culture. There Eastern and Western thought met and mingled. Connected with the Christian school in Alexandria were two young men who became successively the headmasters of the school, and put their mark on the mind of the Eastern Church. These teachers were Clement and Origen, the "Christian Platonists" of Alexandria. They were both sympathetic with the intellectual emphasis in religion, which was characteristic of the Greek East and which ran to

an extreme in Gnosticism. These Alexandrians even called themselves Christian Gnostics, though they recognized faith as superior to reason. They were ambitious to combine the two, to reconcile the best thought of their time, as others have tried to do since, with the cardinal teachings of the Christian religion. Clement and Origen had the good sense which the Gnostics lacked to build their synthetic structure on the accepted Christian tradition and Scripture revelation of the time, constructive rather than destructive in their methods and conclusions, and in general trusted and not opposed by the churches of the empire.

CLEMENT AND ORIGEN

Clement (150-220) was an Athenian, a contemporary of Tertullian of Carthage, but of a different temperament. Winsome in personality and with a well-stored though unsystematic mind, he gave to the Alexandrian school a deserved reputation during his administration of fourteen years. He has been overshadowed by Origen, but he prepared the way for him, and through his own writings familiarized the Christian people with his intellectual point of view. He never swerved from his conviction that Christ was the source and center of all knowledge, and he taught that this came to the individual through experience. Clement wrote several books, including textbooks and miscellanies. It is greatly to his credit that he did not overlook the requirements of a practical morality. He opposed the tendency to asceticism, to think of the world as evil and of the body as something to be mortified. He believed that God dwelt in man and made him of human worth. Like the Greek Fathers generally he trusted the power of the human will to set a man's feet in the right path. His conception of the need of divine grace is thus at the opposite pole from the opinions of Augustine and the Latin school of thought.

Origen (185-253) had a Christian environment in youth, unlike Clement and Tertullian. His father was put to death in one of the pagan persecutions and Origen narrowly escaped. He enjoyed an advanced education, and was qualified to assume the responsibility of carrying on the Alexandrian school before he was twenty years old. He became so popular as a teacher that he had to surrender the elementary instruction, but he attracted pagans as well as Christians to his lecture courses. He was bolder in speculation than Clement, while with ample Biblical knowledge he buttressed his

opinions with Scripture. He probed deeper into the Christian mysteries and soared higher into the rarer atmosphere of divine reality than others before him. Where most minds were content with the cycle of existence from the Creation to the Second Coming, Origen conceived of successive cycles of the spirit's life, during which purification would be effected so that God would not fail of his purpose to save to the uttermost. This doctrine of universal restoration was criticized and later produced bitter controversy. Origen was like Tertullian in failing of canonization because of his theological independence. But he stimulated the minds of his pupils, inspiring them too to think courageously.

Origen remained for many years at the head of the school, though he traveled widely in search of manuscripts and on demand for counsel. When at home he kept copyists busy with his prodigious achievements in authorship. In such different fields as textual criticism and apologetics he won fame. He compiled the *Hexapla*, using six Biblical texts in parallel columns for purposes of comparison. His commentaries showed his exegetical ability. His reply to the skeptic Celsus won the praise of his friends. In his *First Principles* he gave to theology a system which it kept, with a few exceptions, in the Greek Church through subsequent centuries. If he had contented himself with professional work in Alexandria, he might have rounded a long life in that position. But on a journey through Palestine he was ordained as a presbyter by clerical friends there. His Alexandrian bishop, Demetrius, took this as an affront. Though a master in theology, Origen had never received official sanction as a preacher in Alexandria, and Demetrius objected to such an irregular Palestinian procedure, especially since Origen had made himself a eunuch in a fit of asceticism. The result was that Origen had to withdraw from Alexandria and went to Cæsarea, where he built up a school which rivaled the Alexandrian in distinction. In the persecution that followed the edict of Decius Origen was tortured and died of the effects as he approached the age of seventy.

Origen's theology was based on the Platonic philosophy, but it was not limited by it. God is the one Absolute, but the Creator of the world and revealing himself through the Logos, who was the manifestation of the Father's glory as the rays of the sun reveal that luminary. As the rays continually stream forth from the sun, so the Son of God was generated eternally by the Father. Since the Son derived his being from the Father, Origen thought of him as

subordinate in his deity. This opinion contributed to the Arian controversy which convulsed the Church in the fourth century. But Origen expressed the unity of the divine nature by the Greek word *ἁποούσιος*, which later became the slogan of the orthodox party. Thus the opinions of Origen were sometimes divisive, but both parties in the Church quoted him as an authority.

Without any profound consciousness of sin, Origen was much less interested in Christ's atonement than in his incarnation, which is saying that he was a Greek theologian, not a Latin. He taught that Christ freed the human soul from bondage to Satan by the ransom which he paid. Through the experiences of Christian living—repentance, faith, baptism and perseverance—the soul with a measure of freedom makes its way toward God. Origen's was no common mind. Few Christian thinkers could follow his bold flights. He remains, with such men as Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, one of the giants in intellect in the history of the Christian people. Origen's unconventional thinking about certain doctrines and the growing tendency of the Church to fix dogma led to a distrust of his teachings, and to official condemnation in the fifth and sixth centuries. Yet Origen was one of the profoundest theologians who have ever lived, and the last century has brought a new appreciation of his greatness.

The principal contribution which these two Alexandrians made to Christian thought was an emphasis on the immanence of God. In this they were in striking contrast to the Latin conception of a transcendent Deity. The contrast between Origen and Augustine as the representatives of these two types of mind appeared also in three other respects. Augustine believed that the mass of mankind is hopelessly lost; Origen thought that God would find a way to save men as a whole from the penalty of their faults. Augustine thought that the will of man was bound; Origen believed that the spirit must develop its own destiny while it remains in the world. Augustine took for himself the ascetic ideal of monasticism; Origen saw in social activity the highest good. The men of the Middle Ages accepted Augustine as their teacher, but the freer thinking of current theology harks back to the more comfortable faith of Origen.

SUMMARY

Justin and Irenæus, Tertullian and Clement and Origen, all made their contributions to the definition of Christian belief. Each of them was a trained scholar, and was influenced by the ideas cur-

rent in their time and place. From the second century on the Christian people had a theology. Jesus had announced certain dynamic principles and had planted seed thoughts in the minds of his disciples. Paul had interpreted the teaching of Jesus to the non-Jewish mind, but he had not tried to systematize doctrine. Justin explained the nature of Jesus Christ in the philosophical terms of the Greek Logos, the expression of God's thought. He explained baptism and the Lord's Supper as having sacramental value. Irenæus showed how the salvation which Jesus came to give brought remission of sin and regeneration to a new spiritual life. Tertullian defined God and duty, and established high standards for Christian living. Clement and Origen stressed the immanence of God in His world and the incarnation of Christ as the central doctrine of Christianity. So Christian theology was in process of development. The principal doctrinal interest of the age was the significance of Jesus Christ, and the increasing demand of the Christian mind was for a satisfactory definition of his personality. That question became the central issue of subsequent debate.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. What are the characteristics of the Synoptic Gospels compared with the Fourth Gospel?
2. Make an analysis of one of Paul's longer letters, and work out the theology of the epistle.
3. Why were the Apocryphal books left out of the New Testament canon?
4. What are some of the writings of the Post-Apostolic period?
5. Why is Justin regarded as the greatest of the Apologists? Analyze one of his writings.
6. What gives Irenæus his reputation as an outstanding Father of the Church?
7. In writing a sketch of Tertullian how would you classify his achievements?
8. In what various ways were Christian youth instructed in the principles of the faith? What can you find out about the origins of the Alexandrian school?
9. How does Clement resemble the progressive thought of present-day liberals?
10. Outline the theology of Origen, with special emphasis on his peculiar ideas.

For class discussion or debate

1. Was Tertullian justified in joining the Montanists?
2. Resolved, that the moral teaching of Paul was of more permanent value than his theology.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. Papias.
2. The Syriac Bible.
3. Alexandria as a pagan educational center.

For longer written essays

1. Methods of Christian education in the third century.
2. The Epistle to Diognetus.
3. Carthaginian social customs as inferred from the writings of Tertullian.
4. Origen's universalism.

For conference and examination

1. The ethics of Tertullian compared with those of the New England Puritans.

For maps or tables

1. Make a list of the Apologists and what they wrote about.
2. Make a map of the places connected with the writings of the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers.

READING REFERENCES

Sources

AYER. A Source Book for Ancient Church History
 Ante-Nicene Fathers
 ORIGEN. First Principles
 TERTULLIAN. On Spectacles; Adornment of Women; Chastity;
 Monogamy
 CYPRIAN. On Unity

Secondary Guides

STREETER. The Four Gospels: a Study of Origins
 HALL. Papias
 MOORE. The New Testament in the Christian Church
 WESTCOTT. History of the Canon of the New Testament
 CRUTTWELL. Literary History of Early Christianity
 LEIGH-BENNETT. Handbook of the Early Christian Fathers
 FARRAR. Lives of the Fathers
 BIGG. Christian Platonists of Alexandria
 DRANE. Christian Schools and Scholars
 PURVES. The Testimony of Justin Martyr
 ALLEN. Continuity of Christian Thought
 HARNACK. History of Dogma
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 RAINY. Ancient Catholic Church
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CHAPTER VII

THE PROBLEM OF SURVIVAL

THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE ABOUT 250 A.D.

By the middle of the third century it was apparent that the Christian people must be reckoned among the powerful social forces of the empire. The spirit of Jesus, which was the essence of Christianity, was embodied in the lives of thousands of men and women. It was the animating principle in their associations inside the brotherhood and in their wider social relations. That spirit had found expression in worship and sacrament. It had blossomed in a literature which with the Old Testament of the Jews constituted their Bible. It was enshrined in a Church, which from small beginnings in a Jewish province had penetrated into all parts of the empire and had even crossed the frontiers. That Church was organized episcopally, with local congregations bound together by a common faith and allegiance. An interchurch fellowship was recognized by formal dismissal of members from one church to another, and correspondence was carried on between churches. The frontier of Christianity was advancing steadily, and the religion of Jesus was working out into the rural districts of the provinces. It was intrenched in the large provinces of the Near East, in Egypt, and in North Africa. It was making its way through Gaul even to Britain in the far West.

As it moved out farther into all parts of the empire, the initial Gospel became modified and overlaid with ritual, dogma and organization. The more thoughtful of the people tried to adjust their newer Christian beliefs to their native pagan inheritance. Less intellectual folk carried over with them into the churches a fondness for ceremony and an ineradicable feeling of dependence on some sort of sacrifice. While therefore the process of Christianizing the empire went on Christianity was becoming paganized. This modification of Christianity by incorporating into it what seemed most valuable in the older religions made it more acceptable to the masses of the people, but the representatives of the organized order of the past,

whether in politics or religion, were opposed to the Christian Church as a supplanter and a dangerous foe.

Two of the most serious problems were yet to be solved by the Christians. One was to survive the attacks of the political authorities. The other was to secure complete unity in faith and organization. To win through persecution to safety and strength required courage and perseverance on the part of all who were charged with being Christians. To purify the thought processes through which the intellectual leaders of the Church were making their way called for mental ability and sound judgment in weighing the Christian tradition as against pagan philosophy and variant interpretations of religion.

The Church had to justify itself to the state. Government was suspicious of associations of people who seemed disloyal to the state and its worship, were intolerant of other religions than their own, had no ethnic basis for their religion, and were a menace to the existing social order because of their leveling tendencies. Christians were charged by pagans with being guilty of dangerous or immoral practices in their meetings. Already the Emperor Nero had burned Christians on a certain occasion to light his palace gardens. Domitian had persecuted them because he was suspicious of their religious associations and their possible political ambitions. In Trajan's time, about 100 A.D., Pliny, the governor of Bithynia in Asia Minor, wrote to the emperor to ask how Christians should be treated and was instructed not to hunt them out by persecution, but when they were accused to bring them to trial and to punish them with death if they were found guilty. This policy of judicial procedure was followed for one hundred and fifty years. Prominent leaders at various times were victims of intolerance, including Ignatius, Polycarp and Justin. Origen died from the effects of tortures applied to him as a Christian. Outbreaks of active persecution were severe at times in certain provinces, notably North Africa, and tales of martyrdom, when even delicate women faced murderous beasts in the Roman arena, have thrilled many generations of readers of history. The reluctance of Christians to serve in the army and in public office, and the growing strength of the Church which seemed to threaten the solidarity of the empire, incurred the hostility of the Antonine emperors. The persecutions of the Church were first chiefly in the East; these later emperors extended them westward to Greece, Africa and Gaul.

The natural suspicion felt toward Christians was intensified

locally by persons who disliked individual Christians, and were only too ready to call the attention of the authorities to such suspicious practices as the love feasts where the Christians were suspected darkly of killing children to provide materials for midnight orgies. Occasionally popular outbreaks occurred against Christians, as in Palestine in the futile revolt of the Jew Barcochba against the Romans. Christians refused to join the standard of the rebel, and consequently were severely maltreated by the rebels. But the persecutions of the second century were not widespread and few suffered martyrdom as compared with the fiercer attacks of a later time. In the second century the problem of Christian survival was not so acute as the problem of growth and adaptation to the changing environment.

After an outbreak of hostility in the reign of Septimius Severus Christians enjoyed a long period of immunity. This was favorable to the rapid growth of the churches. Large numbers of people were applying for membership, for it was respectable to be a Christian. Church buildings were being erected, for Christians need no longer try to conceal their religion. Government officers and soldiers were numbered among the Christian people, though Christians did not like to have any official connection with the government. Certain emperors even were inclined to be friendly. Freedom from oppression tended to laxity, and the standards of Christian discipleship were not always maintained. Then came the most determined assault of paganism upon the Christians, and the Church was faced acutely with the problem of survival.

THE DEATH STRUGGLE BETWEEN PAGANISM AND CHRISTIANITY

As the second half of the third century approached it was plain that the time had come for a final test between the pagan State and the Christian Church. The State had at its disposal the machinery of the courts and authority over the lives of the Christian adherents. It had but to enforce its will and thousands of persons could be racked with torture, beheaded, or exposed helpless to the attacks of beasts loosed for holiday sport in the circus. Against the power of government Christians could oppose only their individual courage and loyalty to their faith, but the spectacle of their fidelity could easily have a profounder effect on the mind of the public than the force or fury of an intolerant government. It seemed an unequal struggle, but the iron discipline of the State was broken against the rock of Christian fortitude and persistence.

The Emperor Decius inaugurated a definite policy of suppression of the Christian religion during his short reign of two years. Instead of local outbreaks of intolerance in certain provinces a general attack was made. Decius died soon but Valerian adopted the same policy. Large numbers of persons were arrested and tortured, and many of them were put to death. It was at this time that Cyprian of Carthage fell a victim. Those who endured the persecution faithfully were spoken of as "confessors" and were honored by their fellow Christians. Many lacked the courage to suffer, and "lapsed" from the faith by obeying the injunction to join in pagan worship. To win through persecution to safety without losing one's loyalty required courage and perseverance on the part of all who were charged with being Christians.

Again a period of toleration ensued for forty years, followed by the worst of all the persecutions, which raged for years. Diocletian, one of the best of the later emperors, had reorganized the empire, hoping to strengthen it against the tendencies which were apparent. The difficulty of administering so far-flung an empire led Diocletian to associate a certain Galerius with himself as a colleague. By this time the well-knit Christian Church was very different from the loosely organized fraternity of Christian brotherhoods of two centuries earlier, and Galerius thought it imperative to crush out an organization which threatened the stability of the State. He persuaded Diocletian to adopt the policy of intolerance, and throughout the empire a determined effort began, directed particularly against the clergy and the Scriptures in the hope that the common people would submit if they lost their guidance in religion. Edicts issued in the year 303 were followed the next year by a decree requiring all Christians to sacrifice with pagan rites. It was a startling change of policy, and precipitated a death grapple between the vigorous Christian Church and the dying paganism of the past. The Christians won, but not without serious loss. Many of the leaders were gone, hundreds of the laity had died loyally, Christian buildings had been wrecked, copies of the Scriptures had been destroyed.

Meantime Diocletian abdicated and rival Cæsars fought one another for the imperial purple. Out of the mêlée Constantine emerged a victor. He was wise enough to see that Christianity was too strong to be uprooted, and that the Christian people must be given official sanction. Christians were more representative of all

classes and were more respected than a century earlier. Galerius already in the year 311 had relaxed his iron policy, and after his death the rivals, Constantine and Licinius, agreed to tolerate the Christians. It was decreed "that liberty of worship shall not be denied to any, but that the mind and will of every individual shall be free to manage divine affairs according to his own choice"; "that every person who cherishes the desire to observe the Christian religion shall freely and unconditionally proceed to observe the same without let or hindrance."

CONSEQUENCES OF RECOGNITION

The recognition of Christianity by Constantine was one of the principal landmarks in the history of the Christian people. At last after three hundred years of uncertainty and peril they could feel secure. Without fear Christians could build their churches, meet for discussion of church interests, and read freely the Scriptures which the authorities had tried to destroy. Christians could accept public office. The clergy were given civil standing and exempted from municipal obligations, and ecclesiastical courts were recognized. Christianity was placed on an equality with paganism, a status of parity which continued until the Emperor Theodosius in 395 proscribed paganism.

Constantine gave the Church his imperial favor as well as recognition. He made legacies to the Church legal. He gave lands to the churches and appropriations from the government, and provided largesses of grain for distribution to the Christian poor. Part of the property that had belonged to pagan temples was transferred to churches. For a time the churches were relieved from certain taxes, but they were obliged to give their clergy larger support, because it was no longer good form for them to engage in secular occupations. The increase of church income from landed property, endowments, and gifts made this practicable.

At the same time the Church lost its voluntary character and much of its freedom when it became the Church of the empire. It might have so many endowments as speedily to awaken criticism of clerical greed, and it might successfully claim its right to champion the oppressed and even the criminal, but privileges incurred obligations. The emperor assumed the right to call synods and to promulgate their decisions. He was influential in appointments to the higher

offices in the Church, and he was the final judge of the actions of the clergy. Thus the union of Church and State was a real and not altogether fortunate fact.

The decline of the empire in the West and the removal of the imperial capital of Constantinople gave the Roman Catholic Church an opportunity to assert its own claims and eventually the medieval Church became master even in political affairs, but in the East where the Byzantine Empire maintained its vigor and lasted for a thousand years the control of the Church by the State continued.

RIVALS OF CHRISTIANITY

Besides the hostility of the State Christianity had to meet the rivalry of other religions and philosophies during this same period. Two other organized systems vied with Christianity for popularity. These were Neoplatonism and Manichæism. Both of them were universal religions of salvation from earthly woe to eternal life. Both taught the doctrine of one God, both required moral living, both provided mystic rites and corporate organization to give them a consciousness of unity with one another and with God.

Neoplatonism rode in on the tide of a revival of Platonism, which in the third century was supplanting Stoicism as a popular philosophy. Neoplatonism was developed under Oriental influence in Alexandria and Rome, and as a mystical pantheism it appealed to many persons who did not respond to Christianity. Its theology was a doctrine of an Absolute Being from whom emanates the *Nous*, a lower divine intelligence similar to the Christian *Logos*. From the *Nous* comes the world soul, which in its turn gives life to individual human souls: The soul imprisoned in its environment must strive to make its way upward to unity with God by virtue and asceticism. The few may have direct communion with God through ecstasy, gained by asceticism and contemplation. Plotinus, the founder of the Neoplatonic philosophy, claimed to have had such rapture several times, but it was not for the ordinary man. Porphyry tried to popularize it, and later Proclus at Athens systematized its religious teaching. Among thoughtful persons, especially Gnostics, Neoplatonism gained adherents, but it never won popularity among the masses of the people in spite of the attempt to accommodate philosophy and polytheism to each other. As a religion Neoplatonism could not compete successfully with Christianity, but it affected Christian thinking. It had no magnetic founder like Jesus of Nazareth, it lacked

efficient organization, and it was not suited to the needs of common folk. Dangerous though it seemed for a time, it drifted into magic and superstition, and as a system ceased to exist by the early part of the sixth century. It was the last attempt to make pagan religion philosophical. Its influence continued to be felt in Christian circles through the writings of Augustine, of Dionysius the Areopagite, and of medieval philosophers and mystics.

Manichæism more seriously threatened the ascendancy of Christianity. It was another attempt, like Gnosticism, to syncretize religious ideas. It originated in Persia in the person of Mani, who claimed to be a prophet. Mani was disliked by the Magians who were trying to restore pure Zoroastrianism, and he was crucified about the year 276 when approximately sixty years old. But his religious teachings spread east and west and survived for a thousand years. Manichæism perpetuated some of the Gnostic doctrines and absorbed much of the Gnostic movement. It drew to itself some of the waning force of Mithraism. It grew so rapidly that Diocletian proscribed it as Christianity was tabooed, and it was unable to win against the opposition of the State and the strength of Christianity its rival.

The principal tenet of Manichæism was the old Zoroastrian principle of dualism between mind and matter, good and evil, light and darkness. Like Neoplatonism, it taught the confinement of the higher elements in an earthly prison house and the necessity of asceticism for salvation. It developed an ecclesiastical system with two classes of adherents, the elect and the hearers. It had a clergy of elders, bishops, and masters or chiefs, whose rôle was that of teachers. The doctrine of future rewards and punishments was prominent. As a religion it was aided by its power to adapt itself to environment, by its stern moral standards, and by its simplicity of worship. Augustine, the great theologian of North Africa, was much interested in both Neoplatonism and Manichæism, and was a Manichæan "hearer" for years, but afterwards he opposed it and it was rooted out in North Africa or crushed by the Vandal invasion in the fifth century. But it was a powerful rival of Christianity, dangerous until it had to meet the hostility of the State, and at the same time Christianity provided in monasticism a satisfactory channel for asceticism. It persisted in heretical groups, including the later Paulicians of Armenia and Asia Minor, the Bogomiles of Bulgaria, and the Catharists in northern Italy and southern France.

THE LAITY

Once the days of persecution seemed to be definitely over large numbers of people flocked to the churches and it became necessary to prepare them for church membership and to some extent to sift them by a selective process. The probationary period of the catechumenate was observed strictly. The catechumens could listen to the sermon, but only fully qualified members could be present at the mysteries called "*disciplina arcani*." Mass was the central feature of the mysteries, but an elaborate service of worship was connected with it. Adults must wait three or four years before baptism was administered, and the clergy examined the candidate to make sure that his purpose was sincere. Certain occupations must be given up before admittance to the Church was granted, and slaves must receive a testimonial of character from their masters. The process of preparation for baptism included a period of self-examination and fasting; the Devil was exorcised with solemn adjurations; and the baptismal confession was taught with explanation as to its meaning. When the time of baptism came the same program was followed as earlier, renunciation of the Devil, trine immersion, anointing with oil, and partaking of milk, honey and salt. In the case of children sponsors took upon themselves the obligation of moral guardianship, parents promised to bring up their children carefully, and friends guaranteed the conduct of the newly baptized.

Most of the people who were joining the churches were so accustomed to pagan forms of worship and rules of conduct, that they carried them over into Christianity, thus diluting Christianity. While the leaders, men of education, were debating the fine points of theology, the people were delighting in the magic and mystery which steadily increased in the ceremonies of the Church. By both processes the religion of Jesus, both in spirit and in form, was being more completely transformed into the Catholicism which was characteristic of the Middle Ages.

PROBLEMS OF DISCIPLINE

While the struggle for survival was being waged the Christian churches were being troubled with internal differences and defections. In such a widely scattered territory Christian people could hardly be expected to think alike regarding questions of theology or discipline. Both of these vexed the church leaders before the persecutions were over, but the rank and file of Christian people were not

concerned with intellectual theories. The tendency to drift into and out of the Church without any personal experience of vital religion, to feel a temporary attraction for one and another rival cult, and above all to prove faithless in times of persecution, made discipline an important problem. In the early history of Christianity the brotherhoods had disciplined their members on occasion. The most serious offense was heresy, and next to that loose living and criminality. Such persons were committed to the mercy of God, but they received short shrift from the Church.

From the second century at least baptism was believed to wash away all sins committed earlier, and a single repentance afterwards was thought possible. But the introduction of the practice of penance by which one might atone for more than a single sin relaxed the moral restraint of sinners. Soon fasting and pilgrimage and almsgiving were practiced in the hope that such acts of merit might atone for one's faults, and thus was laid the basis for the abuses of a system of merit. To confess one's faults to the priest was a comfort to burdened spirits, even if he imposed public penance, but that was changed to private confession and penance to avoid public scandal over so much evidence of sin. Not yet did the priest have the sanction of the Church to absolve the penitent from his guilt, but he could listen, sympathize, suggest penance, and recommend him to divine mercy. Penance whether public or private was regarded as a satisfaction made to God which might avert the penalty of sin. According to Tertullian it was proper to make a distinction between the seven deadly or "mortal" sins of fornication, adultery, blasphemy, idolatry, denial of Christ, fraud and homicide, which could not be forgiven after baptism, and "venial" sins for which atonement was possible. The *Apostolical Constitutions*, a collection of books of instruction for both clergy and laity dating from the third and fourth centuries, regulated the time of penance. From two to seven weeks of fasting were required, but the time tended to become much longer. Four stages were distinguished. The first class of "weepers" could only mourn outside the church. The second class of "hearers" was admitted inside to listen to the Scripture and the sermon. The third class of "kneelers" was permitted to be present at the prayers, but not to communion. The fourth class of "standers" could stand during the prayers and other parts of the worship, but could not yet partake of the Supper. Leo I at Rome forbade public confession about 450. In the Middle Ages an extensive penitential system developed.

THE CLERGY

The clergy now constituted a class distinct from the laity, distinguished by special ordination at the hands of one or more bishops. Its members were supported by the contributions of the laity and exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the laity. The erstwhile freedom of the Christian people to manage their own churches had been sacrificed to episcopal efficiency, and not only ecclesiastical unity but uniformity in creed and worship were in process of accomplishment.

The rapid growth of the Church required more leaders, and the privileges and prestige of the clergy were attractive, so that an increasing number of young men took ecclesiastical orders. If they were men of ability and education, their opportunity for prominence was large. Most of the clergy did not have the advantage of the schools. They started in the lower ranks of reader or exorcist, and were promoted to be deacons and priests as they showed their fitness. As the Church became popular unworthy men sometimes tried to get clerical appointments. Only one occupation, that of a soldier, disqualified a man for ordination by the bishop, but slaves were not so situated that they could assume office, though there were many in the ranks of church members.

Now that the clerical profession gave full scope for a man's time and activities and churches were able to support their clergy, it came to be regarded as improper for a clergyman to engage in business personally. The rules of the clergy tended to restrict the clergy in that matter. Neither trades nor agriculture were forbidden, but the government was not disposed to grant clerical immunities to men who engaged in lay occupations, and certainly state office was incompatible with clerical life. Changing times, however, altered even that rule. With the breakdown of the political machinery in the West bishops in many cases became virtual rulers of cities and dioceses.

The hierarchy of the fourth century included two distinct groups of major and minor clergy. Within the ranks of the lower clergy were many whose functions were only remotely connected with religion. Grave diggers and nurses of the sick, trustees and attorneys for the care of church property, and ushers and doorkeepers, were of that sort. The lectors were the readers who cared for the copies of the Scriptures and read the lesson from them in the church; they were often candidates for the higher clergy. The interpreters trans-

lated when necessary from the language of the sermon and the Scripture to the vernacular of the congregation. The subdeacons acted as assistants to the deacons, the acolytes to the bishops.

THE HIGHER CLERGY

The higher, or major, clergy included first the deacons, who were important locally in administration, in the care of the poor, and in the supervision of morals, and who were headed by an archdeacon in each diocese. The archdeacon was the personal representative of the bishop with administrative and judicial powers, and often had more influence than the priest. The priest, or presbyter, was in charge of the local parish. He was superior to the deacon, and was the administrator of worship and charity. The bishop was the key man of the ecclesiastical system. He had oversight of the diocese. He ordained and appointed the lower clergy, and held them accountable to himself. He had the administration of church property. He was guardian of church standards and judge in matters of discipline. In the early period of church history the bishop was chosen by the people, but the election passed to the neighboring bishops. It was the bishops who met in the synods and great councils and decided questions of universal importance in theory or practice by their united voice.

By the fourth century the chief bishop in a province was called metropolitan or archbishop. He came to enjoy his primacy because as bishop of the leading city he could attend best to the common interests of the clerical order. When provincial synods became possible he proposed legislation to the clergy on matters of common concern. The superiority of an archbishop was disputed at times when bishops became powerful. Later came the patriarchate, an added dignity which came to the archbishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. Their jurisdiction corresponded to the praefectures into which the empire was divided by Constantine. The patriarch of Rome, who was at the same time bishop and archbishop, had twenty-eight provinces under his nominal authority; others had less. Each of the patriarchs had the right to consecrate bishops and archbishops within his patriarchate, to call synods and supervise ecclesiastical courts, to be represented at foreign courts by legates, and to enjoy the distinction of high rank and powers of administration.

This Catholic ecclesiastical system was the product of the first

four Christian centuries. It was well adapted to the organization of the Christian people, because it matched the familiar organization of the empire. With increasing systematization and control came greater efficiency, but less spontaneity and independence.

CYPRIAN

The outstanding figure among the bishops of the third century was Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage (200-258). Cyprian was a wealthy and educated Carthaginian, well known as a teacher of rhetoric when he was converted to Christianity. His ability and character won him an election to the bishopric over the heads of men older in the faith. In the church at Carthage were many people who had drifted into church membership without strong moral convictions. Such persons were self-indulgent, and even the clergy were infected with the worldly spirit. Some of them engaged in agriculture, mercantile trade and money lending, in the spirit of profiteering. Their learning suffered until they could not teach the catechumens properly, and they discriminated with difficulty between sound doctrine and heresy. Their moral habits were open to criticism and people's confidence in them declined.

Cyprian found it necessary to exercise discipline. He was a conscientious pastor of his flock, and devoted his wealth to the Church. He was never a master in theology, but was content to accept the theology of Tertullian. He believed firmly in the importance of the bishop's office, and he is remembered as one of the conspicuous ecclesiastical statesmen of the ancient Church. In his estimation the laity counted for little. It was the clergy who constituted the Church, particularly the bishops who held it together. By that means the unity of the Church was maintained, a unity cherished by Cyprian as one of the essential characteristics of a Catholic Church. Outside that Church there was no salvation for any man, according to his belief, and that Church had authority over every individual.

Serious cases of discipline resulted from the persecutions. Many persons who had not met the test but had lapsed from the faith asked for readmission into the churches, because they believed fully that their future salvation depended on their connection with the Church. It was a question how rigorous should be the requirements for readmission. This problem of "the lapsed" became a burning issue in the churches of Carthage and Rome. In each case it caused divisions which proved difficult to heal. At Carthage Cyprian favored

a stern policy toward those who had proved unfaithful in persecution, but he was opposed vigorously and was compelled to be more moderate. His rapid promotion to the bishopric had made him enemies, and they went so far as to set up a rival bishop, Cecilianus. Shortly afterwards Cyprian himself fell a victim to the Valerian persecution. At Rome the lax party was in control, and a group of rigorists withdrew under the leadership of Novatian, a well-known theologian, and for several centuries the Novatianists maintained their existence as a separate sect.

THE DONATISTS

Half a century later still another schism took place over a similar issue. During the final and most severe persecution of the Christians a special attempt was made to destroy their sacred books. Hundreds of Christians in North Africa surrendered copies which they possessed in order to save themselves. Even the clergy in some cases were guilty of being "traditors," as such persons were called. Those who had proved faithful would not have fellowship with such weak-willed persons, much less accept their leadership. The result was a separatist organization about the year 315 led by a certain Donatus, after whom they were called Donatists. Many Donatist churches were created in North Africa and elsewhere, most of the earlier schisms were absorbed, and for two centuries the movement persisted in spite of Catholic and imperial opposition. Aside from their desire for severity of church discipline, the Donatists are notable for their championship of the Protestant principle that clergymen must be men of character, if their ministrations are to be efficacious. It was a Donatist practice therefore to rebaptize persons who joined them from a church whose clergy were not highly esteemed.

The question of rebaptism for those who came to the Catholics from the Donatists and other smaller sects occasioned some controversy among the orthodox. True to the Catholic principle that the act of baptism and not the administrator was the important matter, Rome took the position that no rebaptism was necessary, but elsewhere the churches thought it necessary to rebaptize. Cyprian disputed with Bishop Stephen of Rome, and denied the right of Rome to speak for others. Synods were held at Carthage at which the anti-Roman position was ratified. But the Roman influence was the stronger, and in the end Augustine fixed the position of the Catholic Church by affirming that once baptized a person was stamped with

its mark, and while he could not be saved if he remained outside the true Church, he should be received into it by the simple ceremony of laying on of hands by the presbyter.

The Christian Church thus emerged from its battle for existence with strengthened organization and with public recognition, but it had its internal bickerings and the path to unity was not easy. It was an open question whether unity could be obtained except by the exercise of episcopal or imperial authority.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. What are some of the evidences of the paganizing of Christianity seen in the Catholic Church?
2. Which was the stronger apologetic for Christianity, the literary apologies or the spirit of martyrdom? Tell the story of one of the martyrs.
3. Why should the Roman State have been hostile to Christianity?
4. What was the revolt of Barcochba, and why was it significant?
5. What were the advantages that came to the Christians from official recognition, and what the liabilities?
6. Compare Neoplatonism with Christianity.
7. Show how Mithraism and Manichæism originated from Zoroastrianism.
8. What was the catechumenate?
9. What was Cyprian's problem of discipline and how did he meet it?
10. Explain the clergy of the Church about 300 A.D.

For discussion or debate

1. Was Cyprian justified in avoiding the Decian persecution?
2. Was it well for the Church that the clergy should become a professional class?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. The Neronian persecution.
2. High lights in the reign of Constantine.
3. The office of reader in the Church.

For longer written essays

1. The martyrs of North Africa.
2. The practice of confession in the ancient Church.
3. The Novatianists.
4. The Donatists in North Africa.

For conference and examination

1. The impact of Manichæism on Christianity.

For maps and tables

1. An outline map to show the persecutions of the Christians.
2. A list of the prominent martyrs in the ancient Church.

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CHAPTER VIII

UNITY THROUGH COUNCIL AND CREED

THE REMAINING TASKS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH

Two undertakings remained in the inner development of the Church. One was the centralization of ecclesiastical authority, a task for which the practical mind of the West was best fitted. The other was the unification of doctrine, which was attempted by the more abstract mind of the East. These two processes moved along simultaneously. By the middle of the fifth century the Bishop of Rome was to gain a standing which was unrivaled in the West, and in the East was disputed only by the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch. By the same time through the machinery of ecumenical councils the churches of Christendom, principally in the East, were to thresh out their differences over the most prominent doctrines of the Church and to formulate their conclusions in an ecumenical creed. The story of these two processes of development fills the arena for one hundred and fifty years.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE PERSON OF CHRIST

The basic interests in Christian theology must always be the nature and character of God, the relation of man to God, and the interpretation of Jesus Christ in his relations to both God and man. The technical terms of theology have changed, and theological conceptions have been modified with changes in psychology and philosophy as well as by religious experience, but the main interests remain the same. Theological discussion about 300 A.D. centered about the nature of Christ, who in a mysterious way linked God and man. While few of the Christian people understood the fine distinctions of the theologians, they sensed the importance of the doctrine about Christ. He was the anchor of their hopes, the bulwark of their faith.

To a Jew who believed in him Jesus was the Messiah. To the Gentile believer it seemed that he must be more than that. In early

Christian literature attempts were made to explain him, which show the influence of both Hebrew and Greek thought. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews spoke of him as a high priest who is able to take away human sin. The author of the Fourth Gospel made Jesus the incarnate Logos, light bringer and life giver. Origen of Alexandria contributed the explanation that Jesus Christ was of the same nature as God, the eternal generation of the divine spirit. In the attempt at interpretation the intellectual influence of Alexandrian thinkers was dominant.

In emphasizing the essential deity of Christ there was real danger of overlooking the reality of his manhood. That was the fault of the Gnostics. The best that the Christian thinkers could do was to conceive of the divine nature becoming connected with human nature in some mysterious way through the God-man Jesus Christ. Human nature was not defined as now in terms either of mechanism or of personality. Divine nature was believed to be of a different kind from human in both character and power. The problem of the Church was how to explain Christ so that he would not lose his divine dignity and at the same time keep his human values. The problem resolved itself into two; first, How explain Christ as the Son of God? Secondly, How explain the union of the divine and human natures in the one person of Jesus while he lived on earth?

MONARCHIANISM

The more the deity of Christ was stressed, either by Gnostics or Catholics, the greater seemed the danger of making two Christian Gods. The belief in monotheism, common to both Jews and Christians, would not permit this. The reaction produced Monarchianism, the government of one God. Those who thought the truest interpretation of Christ to be in terms of divinity satisfied the principle of monotheism and their own divine emphasis by explaining that while on earth he was a temporary mode of appearance of the Eternal. This gave them the name of Modalists. Their chief spokesman was Sabellius, a Libyan of Cyrenaica, who taught at Rome about 215, and sometimes they were called Sabellians for that reason. Their close identification of the Son with the Father made it possible to charge them with teaching that it was God the Father who suffered on the Cross; that gave them also the Latin name of Patripassians. Sabellians worked out the doctrine of a Trinity of manifestation, including the Holy Spirit as well as the Father and the Son, and spoke of each

as a character on the stage of existence. Sabellianism gained a footing at Rome and in Egypt and Libya, and was reflected in the later Catholic dogma of an equality in the Godhead, if not an actual identity of the three characters. But Sabellianism was not generally acceptable.

Those who liked best to emphasize the true humanity of Christ explained that Christ was merely the human Jesus until at his baptism he became the adopted Son of God. This act, divinely dynamic, gave to the party the name of Dynamic Monarchians. This opinion was carried to Rome, but was most persistent in the East. Its most conspicuous representative was Paul of Samosata, who was Bishop of Antioch about 265. His teaching was that the Logos was the inspiration of the life of Jesus, but that Jesus did not really become divine until his resurrection. Paul was a politician as well as a churchman, well known at the court of Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra.

Neither Monarchian theory was a satisfactory explanation of the incarnation to the Catholic mind. Hippolytus, the eminent Roman leader (c. 165-235), vigorously opposed Monarchianism and quarreled locally with Kallistos, the Roman bishop.

These differences became acute about the time that Cyprian was active at Carthage. It was difficult to be specific in teaching and escape the accusation of heresy. Dionysius, a pupil of Origen and Bishop of Alexandria, tried to make Christ more distinct from the Father than Sabellius taught, and was charged with subordinating him as a creature by Dionysius, the Bishop of Rome. The Alexandrian asserted his orthodoxy and showed his power in argument by convincing a group of Millennarians in Egypt that they were in error in believing that Christ was soon to return. It was a time of confusion of thought, with the greatest difficulty over the person of Christ. Such division of forces weakened the Christian Church, and when Constantine decided to make Christianity legal in order to strengthen his empire he resolved to unify Christendom.

THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY

The question was whether Gnostic, Monarchian, or Catholic beliefs should win before the bar of church opinion. The issue really lay between Monarchianism and Catholicism because Gnosticism already was in decline. For the West the issue had virtually been settled by the discussion of the Trinity by Tertullian. In the East the fourth century brought the debate to a focus in the specific issue

between Arianism, a legitimate fruit of Monarchianism and Athanasianism, a thoroughgoing form of Catholic theology.

Two schools of thought were rivals in the East, that of Alexandria which stressed the full deity of Christ, declaring that he was of the same substance as God the Father, and that of Antioch which explained that he was of similar substance, but was subordinate to the Father as having come from Him. The controversy was precipitated by Arius, a representative of the Antiochian school, but a presbyter in the church of Alexandria. The dispute between Arius and his bishop, Alexander, was so keen and threatened to involve the whole East that the Emperor Constantine summoned the Christian bishops to a council at Nicea near his own capital in order to establish unity in doctrine for all the churches by the weight of their united authority. A general council to include all the dignitaries of the Church never had met before. Synods of provincial clergy had been held occasionally since the second century, but in time of persecution such a public gathering as a general council would have been impossible, and there was no central authority to call the council. In his thought a unified Church would make the institution more valuable to the empire. In the constitutional history of the Church the act of Constantine is significant as marking the political dominance of the Church by the State, an ideal sought persistently by the opponents of the papacy in the Middle Ages, and maintained by sovereigns of national Protestant churches in the more recent history of Europe.

The Council of Nicea, which met in the year 325, ranks as the most important in the history of the Christian Church. It was not fully representative of Christendom, because all but six of the bishops in attendance were from the East, but Hosius of Cordova was an able spokesman of the Western opinion and the decision of the Council agreed with it. More than three hundred bishops attended the sessions, accompanied by many of their lower clergy, who were interested in the proceedings but had no vote in the Council. Many bore the scars of persecution, for the Christians had but recently come through the death struggle between the old religion and the new, and they held tenaciously to opinions for which they had been willing to suffer.

An Alexandrian synod had condemned Arius already, but he was supported by Eusebius of Nicomedia and a considerable following. Arius himself was present. Among the supporters of Alexander, the

aged Bishop of Alexandria, was Athanasius, at that time a youthful deacon of the church at Alexandria and a few years later its bishop. The larger number of those present did not seem to have a definite opinion on the matter at issue, but the party leaders warmly debated it. It was understood that the Council should reach unanimity of opinion, for unity of doctrine seemed essential to the welfare of both Church and Empire. It became clear early in the assembly that the Arians were in a decided minority, and when they offered their creed it was rejected promptly. Then Eusebius of Cæsarea, who represented the moderates and wished to find a formula free from party shibboleths, presented the creed of his own church. It was too vague to be entirely satisfactory, but with certain amendments it proved acceptable. It seemed desirable to insert a definite statement that Christ was more than a created being, and through the influence of the emperor the word *ὁμοούσιος*, meaning of the same substance as the Father, was included. The word was in good use in theological circles in the West and was not objectionable to any in the Council except the Arians. The amended creed was adopted, and became the slogan of the orthodox.

The emperor was pleased with the result and sent Arius and two of his recalcitrant supporters into banishment. But the bishops found when they returned to their churches that the people were not yet ready for the decision that had been made, and the debate was resumed and continued for more than fifty years. The imperial court, except for Constantine, was friendly to the Arians and they recovered lost ground. The original disputants died, but they were succeeded by Athanasius and Eusebius of Nicomedia as the respective champions. The forces of reaction were so strong that Athanasius was forced to flee from Alexandria several times for safety, but his leadership of the party was never questioned. He was a worthy successor of Clement and Origen in intellectual leadership, but as an interpreter rather than as a philosopher. It was vitally important to him to think of Christ as God himself incarnate in his world, conscious of human need, sharing in human experience, sacrificing himself on account of human sin, and achieving full salvation for man. The conviction and courage of Athanasius made him a militant leader and he was on the eve of victory when he died.

Next in importance to Athanasius as a contemporary leader was Eusebius of Cæsarea. He is remembered in the Church as the Father

of Church History and the author of a eulogistic life of Constantine, but his importance at the time was as the leader of the semi-Arians. Gradually they drifted over to the support of the Athanasians, and a second Council, meeting this time at Constantinople in 381, ratified the action of Nicea. This same Council asserted the divinity of the Holy Spirit. From that time the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity held an undisputed position in Christendom. On the outskirts of the empire certain missionaries carried Arianism to tribes which were pushing against the northern frontiers, but in the East there was no question as to the victory of orthodoxy and in the West the influence of orthodox Rome eventually won over the barbarians who understood little of the fine points of theology.

GREEK FATHERS OF THE PERIOD

The fourth century was prolific in leadership. The issues in controversy brought to the front men of first-class ability in theology, and some of them were distinguished bishops. Three Cappadocians from Asia Minor were among the more prominent of the orthodox leaders. Basil was a capable bishop of the metropolitan church of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and he had the knack of smoothing out theological difficulties. It was he who gave a rule to Eastern monasticism. His brother, Gregory of Nyssa, was the ablest theologian of his party after Athanasius, and in close sympathy with the thinking of Origen. The third was Gregory of Nazianzus, a schoolmate of Basil, who became distinguished as a poet and orator, and a champion in the pulpit of the Nicene Creed. Best known from his reputation as an orator was John Chrysostom (347-397), a native of Antioch. He was well educated, passed several years in the austere life of a monk, and then for twelve years was the preacher of the church in Antioch. His practical sermons delighted the people who flocked to hear him, but in 398 he found a still larger place as patriarch of Constantinople. Unfortunately for his fortunes his plain speaking drew upon him the hostility of the empress. His sympathy with the theological position of Antioch invited the hostility of Alexandria also. The result was that he was driven from his see and died in exile. Chrysostom was a man of rare purity of life and of great natural powers, a faithful pastor as well as preacher, a worthy leader at a time when the church was worldly, theology was in controversy, and a decrepit and dissolute imperial government was meddling with church affairs. Other

prominent Antiochians were Theodore of Mopsuestia, a friend of Constantine and an eminent teacher at Antioch, and Theodoret his pupil, Bishop of Cyrus, a writer on religious subjects.

THE CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY

Scarcely had the smoke of battle cleared away after the Arians had been driven from the field when another conflict seemed inevitable over the person of Christ. It was a debatable question whether the divine nature in him absorbed the human, or whether the two remained unfused in his person. Again the West was content with the teaching of Tertullian that both natures were complete in Christ, but the East was divided by differences of interpretation in the rival schools of Alexandria and Antioch. The Alexandrian mind, speculative and imaginative, explained the two natures as fused in a single personality; the more rational, literal mind of Antioch stressed the separateness of the two natures.

This dispute, which was distinguished from the Arian, or Trinitarian, as the Christological controversy, had several stages. The first, or Apollinarian stage, came before the Trinitarian decision at Constantinople. Apollinaris, Bishop at Laodicea, thought the true explanation of Christ's nature was that his body and mind were human, but that his spirit was replaced by the Logos. Since this doctrine marred the perfection of his humanity, it was condemned at the Council of Constantinople in 381. The second phase of the controversy was the Nestorian, and was due to indiscreet statements by Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople and a representative of the Antiochian school. The school of Antioch had gained in reputation through Diodorus, for a time its head, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, noted as a preacher and exegete as well as a theologian. Nestorius, secure in his opinions and confident of his powers, preached against a favorite Constantinopolitan doctrine represented by the Greek word *θεοτόκος*, which in theological parlance meant that Mary was the mother of the Logos, whereas Nestorius thought of God as merely dwelling in the human Jesus. Cyril, then the Bishop of Alexandria, saw an opportunity to attack Antioch through Nestorius. He wrote to the Bishop of Rome who sided with him and enlisted in his behalf the emperor, Theodosius II, promulgator of the famous Theodosian Code of Roman law, and the emperor called a council to settle the matter. This third of the ecumenical councils of the Church met at Ephesus in 431, and hurriedly condemned Nestorius before his

friends had arrived from Antioch. Nestorianism dropped out of the Catholic Church, but a Nestorian sect persisted, became prominent in Persia, and sent out missionaries to the Far East.

The Alexandrian party similarly overreached itself in the third stage of the controversy. Its instrument was Eutyches, an aged archimandrite at Constantinople, after whom the particular controversy was called Eutychian. He contended that Christ's two natures became one after his incarnation, an opinion which left no room for the human life of Jesus. Attacked by his enemies he was condemned at a local synod. The emperor then took up his cause, and though Bishop Leo of Rome was against him he was restored by action of a disorderly assembly the next year when the Bishop of Constantinople was so roughly handled that he died shortly. It was necessary to meet again, and the Council of Chalcedon, the fourth recognized council, in 451 condemned Eutyches and the Alexandrian opinions. The decision was phrased so as to preserve a middle way between the extreme doctrines of the schools. The person of Christ was declared to be of two natures "without confusion," "without conversion," "without division," "without separation." The first two were intended to provide against Eutychianism, the last two against Nestorianism.

MONOPHYSITE CHURCHES OF THE NEAR EAST

The decision of Chalcedon had far-reaching consequences. It was an assertion in harmony with the published opinions of Rome, but the Council in proclaiming equal dignity for the Bishop of Constantinople with the see of Rome sowed the seeds of future hostility between East and West. The Council had been summoned by the emperor, and the imperial authority over the Church was well established. It was inevitable that religion and politics should affect each other, as appeared frequently in Syria and Egypt. As the representative of the Monophysite principle, the church of Alexandria was dissatisfied with the decision of Chalcedon and revolutionary tumults arose, especially among the fanatical monks, bishops were driven from their sees and sects were organized, which became perpetual in the Coptic, the Abyssinian, the Syrian Jacobite, and the Armenian churches. Armenia had been Christianized as late as the fourth century, and Abyssinia in the same period. Thus the attempts to unify the churches by the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon had alienated first the Nestorians and then the Monophysites.

The unity which Rome created in the West failed in the East. The patriarch of Constantinople was the head of the churches in his own region of country, but he had no jurisdiction over the schismatic churches and he was overawed by the emperor at Constantinople. The authority which the emperor might have exercised was weakened by disturbed political conditions culminating in the loss of provinces by the inroads of border tribes, similar to the course of events in the West.

A single brilliant reign by Justinian (527-565) maintained temporarily the prestige of the emperor and established most completely the imperial authority over the Church. Politically he was successful in reasserting the authority of the empire over Italy and North Africa, which had succumbed to invading Teutonic tribes, though the recovery lasted for only a brief period. Theologically he was sufficiently desirous of winning back the Monophysites and restoring the unity of the Church to call a fifth general council of church leaders. The second Council of Constantinople, in 553, condemned the *Three Chapters* which were the standard of Antiochian theology, and thus favored the Alexandrian interpretation of the creed of Chalcedon, but the attempt to conciliate the Monophysites failed and national churches resulted in the disaffected provinces of the empire.

The Coptic descendants of the old Egyptians set up a patriarch of their own at Alexandria, who became the recognized head of an Abyssinian church also. Most of the Armenians withdrew from fellowship with the Orthodox and organized their own hierarchy. At a later time the Roman Catholic Church was to make inroads among them and American missionaries to introduce evangelical principles, but their history has been that of a national Church, known as the Gregorian Church, after their chief apostle, Gregory the Illuminator, of the late third century. For a time they had their own liturgy and sermons in their own language, but with the changes brought by Mohammedan centuries, preaching was abandoned, worship became unintelligible, and religion became a thing of form rather than reality. Most Syrians who were not already Nestorians continued their connection with the Orthodox Church, but Jacob Baradæus, a Monophysite leader of the sixth century, rallied the extremists who were called Jacobites from his name.

Within half a century of the death of Justinian a strong push of the Persian kingdom over its western frontier resulted in the con-

quest of the provinces of Syria and Egypt, and the penetration of Asia Minor. To the west of Constantinople the Slavs were conquering Balkan territory and raiding the environs of the capital city. The Emperor Heraclius recovered the eastern provinces only to face the new danger of Mohammedanism looming on the eastern horizon. It was a time for attempting again to reunite the divided Christian Church. The emperor affirmed that it was orthodox to believe in a single will of Christ if not a single nature, but this precipitated the Monothelite controversy with the pope of Rome. Changing fortunes resulted, but the Monothelite theory was defeated at the sixth general council of the Church, the third held at Constantinople, in the year 680. The decision alienated the Maronites of the Lebanon Mountains, who became another of the schismatical groups in Syria.

THE THREE CREEDS

The Council of 680 virtually ended the theological controversies in the East, which had begun early in Christian history and had become accentuated in the Monarchian, Arian and Christological disputes. Out of the doctrinal discussions of the early centuries emerged three great creeds of the Christian Church. The first was the Apostles' Creed, which, like the early rules of faith, formulated the belief in the real human life of Jesus. It had its origin in the Church at Rome, where it was used as a confession of faith at the time of baptism. In its original form it read:

I believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord; who was born of the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin; under Pontius Pilate was crucified and buried; on the third day he rose from the dead; he ascended into the heavens, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, whence he shall come to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit, the holy church, the forgiveness of sins, and the resurrection of the flesh.

The second of the creeds was the Nicene Creed, which was the substance of the Trinitarian agreement reached in the first two general councils, with the conclusion of the fourth council. It read:

We believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, only begotten of the Father (that is, of the substance of the Father), God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things were made both

in heaven and on earth, who for us men and for our salvation came down and was made flesh, became man, suffered, and rose again the third day, ascended into heaven, and is coming to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit.

The third of the doctrinal symbols was the Athanasian Creed. It originated in Gaul as a controversial affirmation of the Athanasian doctrine, but had no connection with Athanasius, the forceful defender of the Alexandrian arguments. This third creed was written in rhythmical form and very likely was sung in theological rivalry. It began with the Latin words *Quicumque vult*, which sometimes are used to designate the creed, and closed with an anathema against those who did not agree to it.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONTROVERSIES

The theological controversies present a tiresome and sometimes unpleasant picture of churchmen at strife over profound questions of religion. Ecclesiastical ambitions were mixed up with honest convictions, and the spirit in which the discussion was waged was far from the spirit of Jesus. There was loss in the transfer of emphasis from the living, human Jesus, who tried to transform mean motives and weak wills and to empower men to live regenerate lives, to a superhuman being who in a mysterious way combines human nature with the divine. It was a shift of emphasis from the practical to the metaphysical. Religion gave place to theology. Yet it was inevitable in intellectual circles influenced by the Greek mind, and Christians generally long since had thought of Jesus as the divine Christ. The theological issue of the fourth and fifth centuries had real importance. Underneath lay the question whether Jesus was in truth the Christ, the Son of God, who had power to bridge the gulf between man and God and to save people from sin and death; and whether he was at the same time really human so as to understand human nature, to enter into the depths of human experience, and to inspire to the highest human ideals. The conclusions that were reached were probably as near as theologians could get to the true nature of Christ with the knowledge of personality which they possessed in that day. Modern thought does not differentiate so sharply between the human nature and the divine. Jesus Christ and man both are thought of as on the divine side of life as over against the world of nature. There is a sense in which God is Father, Son and Spirit, a true Trinity, but the modern man thinks of him as a single personality. There is a

sense in which Jesus is both human and divine, but not to the destruction of that unity. The conclusions of the ancient councils demand the respect of the historian, but the doctrines which they tried to define have required reinterpretation in the light of the best modern understanding of God and man.

LATER HISTORY OF THE GREEK CHURCH

The doctrinal controversies so embittered the leaders of the rival schools in the East that they failed to generate spirituality, and they did not develop such an administrative energy as the churchmen of the West. With the deliverances of the councils the Holy Orthodox Church almost completed its contributions to the solution of church problems or the perfection of doctrine. Late in the fifth century an unknown writer in the East, taking the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, mentioned in the book of Acts, contributed a mystical theology to the Greek cult. He removed God farther away from man by treating Him as the Absolute, holy and unapproachable. The mysticism of this writer had a peculiar attraction for certain Western schoolmen and mystics in the Middle Ages.

John of Damascus, a monk, put Eastern theology into its final systematic form in the eighth century. His treatise on the *Source of Knowledge* was a summary of the progress of Eastern theological thought. John wrote hymns which still are sung in the West, as did Theodore, who was abbot of the Studium, a celebrated monastery in Constantinople. It is said that the Studium filled the place of a modern university, press and school of technology, in one of the finest and most characteristic arts of the Middle Ages. Both John and Theodore were involved in a long controversy over the propriety of using pictures and images as aids to worship. This iconoclastic controversy was precipitated by Leo the Isaurian, emperor at Constantinople in the eighth century, with an energy characteristic of Justinian. He saw how the veneration of images easily became worship and such idolatry seemed un-Christian. He hoped, too, to unite Jews and Mohammedans with Christians in pure monotheism. But John of Damascus and Theodore defended their use, and the popular support of the practice was too powerful to be broken down. The pope of Rome was sympathetic with their use, and his influence was felt, even in the East. The seventh and last of the ecumenical councils in the East met at Nicea in 787 and condemned the iconoclasts.

THE RISE OF MOHAMMEDANISM

The seventh century saw the rise of Mohammedanism when Mohammed made Mecca the center of his new monotheistic cult. Reckoning a new era from the year 622, when Mohammed fled for his life from Mecca, his followers carried on a militant crusade from country to country of the Near East. Their steady progress against all opposition resulted in the loss to the empire of Syria, Palestine and Egypt, and the flood was not checked until it had inundated North Africa and Spain. A century later the tide of conquest had swept over the Pyrenees, but the Franks checked the wave of invasion at Tours in 732, saving the West for the development of a Christian civilization. In the East Constantinople stood as a bulwark, but the Eastern Empire was shorn of much of its strength. The Moslem conquests extended as far east as the frontiers of India and China.

A single individual as caliph inherited the mantle of Mohammed and ruled over the political and religious systems of the Mohammedans. Damascus became the capital for a time, but it was at Bagdad on the Tigris that the greatest imperial splendor was attained and the illustrious Haroun-al-Raschid maintained a civilization that was the wonder of the world. Even after Spain became a separate organization politically the Caliphate of Bagdad extended from the Strait of Gibraltar to the Indus River and northward beyond Bokhara. At a time when western Europe was trying to escape from chaos with the adoption of the feudal system, Bagdad was the center of widespread dominion and had at its command the wealth of the Orient. It was beautiful with palaces and parks, active in its commerce with all parts of the East and busy with factories and bazaars through its many miles of streets, and occupied by Christians, Jews, and pagans, as well as the faithful adherents of Mohammed. Far-away Cordova in Spain, the Western capital, was a city of half a million inhabitants with three thousand mosques, besides shops and schools. Spain was the home of a culture which preserved the philosophy and the arts of the East until Christian Europe should be ready to turn the boorish pastimes of its immaturity to study and appreciation of the past.

THE CONSEQUENCES TO CHRISTIANITY

The victories of Islam were not so destructive to Christianity as they have seemed at times. Most of the Christians in the East had ceased to know by experience the spiritual values of their nominal

religion. Lost in the mazes of a humanitarian theology, they had their thinking simplified by the monotheism of the Mohammedans. At times they were made to feel the oppression of despotism, but most of the time they were free to live their lives in security and peace. The empire which centered at Constantinople was so crippled that it could not hope to conquer again any part of Europe, and the patriarch of Constantinople could not hope to rival the Bishop of Rome. The Eastern Church made good some of its losses by sending out missionaries like Cyril and Methodius, winning the allegiance of princes like Boris of Bulgaria and Vladimir of Russia, and asserting the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople over their realms. The heresies of the Paulicians, who in Armenia perpetuated some of the ideas of Gnostics and Manichæans, and of the Bogomiles, who were similar to them, vexed the Church for a long time after the year 650.

The principal landmark in the history of the Greek Church between the Mohammedan invasion and the fall of Constantinople in 1453 was the definite separation between the Roman and Greek churches. The final break came in 1054. The trend in that direction was evident long before. Aside from the rivalry of the two sees were serious differences of racial and theological interest. The political separation as the West fell apart before the invasion of the Teutons was a contributing factor, as was also the alliance between the papacy and the Franks. The Filioque controversy especially rankled in the minds of an Eastern Church which was loyal to the letter of the Nicene Creed. As far back as the year 589 the Council of Toledo, composed of Western bishops, had ventured to insert the word *filioque* into the creed to indicate that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father. The East was scandalized at the impertinence. As late as the eleventh century the patriarch of Constantinople tried to iron out the differences, but an insulting letter from the Roman pope, with an attempt to impose Roman authority upon Constantinople, provoked the schism at the middle of the century.

The Crusades aggravated the irritation between East and West. The Christian knights of France and Sicily went to the assistance of the hard-pressed districts where the Ottoman Turks had fastened their control, and they succeeded in checking their advance, but in the Fourth Crusade the Latins turned their arms against Constantinople and did more damage to the cause of intersectional friendship

than any aid given in Palestine could counteract, even if the Latins had not established their own kingdom there. In 1453 the old stronghold on the Bosphorus fell beyond the possibility of recovery. The Greek Church did not perish, but it remained relatively weak and disunited outside of Russia. The development of Christianity was not to be in the East but in the West.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. Why did the Greek Christians put supreme emphasis on the incarnation?
2. What is the permanent significance of the Nicene decision?
3. Why was not Sabellianism a satisfactory definition of God?
4. Two men named Eusebius and two named Dionysius were active in the Trinitarian controversy. Distinguish them.
5. Why is Athanasius the center of interest in the Arian controversy?
6. What was the machinery of the general council?
7. Who were the three Cappadocians?
8. How would you characterize the three ancient creeds?
9. What were the issues in the Christological controversy and what conclusions were reached? With what consequences in disunity?
10. What was the effect of the Mohammedan advance upon the Eastern Empire?

For class discussion or debate

1. Was orthodoxy worth the consequences of controversy?
2. What was the part of the Bishop of Rome in the controversies?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. The Kingdom of Palmyra under Zenobia.
2. Sabellius.
3. The Copts of Egypt.

For longer written essays

1. A character study of Mohammed.
2. Nestorian Missions.
3. John Chrysostom as a Preacher.
4. John of Damascus.

For conference and examination

1. Comparison of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds with the creeds of the Reformation.

For maps and tables

1. An outline map to illustrate the doctrinal controversies.
2. An outline map to illustrate the Mohammedan invasions.
3. Make a classified list of the leaders associated with the theological controversies.

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CHAPTER IX

CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE LATIN

THE MIND OF THE LATIN WEST

WHILE the speculative minds of the Greek Fathers were busy with theology, trying to formulate a norm of correct belief, the more practically minded Latin Fathers in the West were building their church organization, ordering church administration, and developing modes of worship. Content to fall back upon apostolic tradition as a guide to their thinking about most religious questions, and agreeing with the decisions of the councils on the great doctrines about God and Christ, they were concerned most about the externals of religion, because the Church and its appointments seemed the sure means of salvation. The fourth century, so prolific of leaders in the East, gave fewer names to the history of the West, but four names rank with those of their Greek contemporaries, though none of them are Roman. Augustine of Hippo was the master mind of the Western Church, working out an explanation of the relations between God and man and emphasizing the place of the Church in the scheme of salvation from the guilt inherited from man's first ancestors. Jerome represents the ascetic movement of monasticism, which had as its *motif* a desire to escape from sin and its consequences. Ambrose and Hilary of Poitiers were prominent bishops of the Latin Church, whose efficiency in coping with difficulties elicits admiration.

The Christianity of the fourth century, both Greek and Latin, was much more elaborate both in its content and its functioning than it had been in the Apostolic Age. The attitude of mind of its votaries was more legalistic than spiritual, though it must not be supposed that religion had lost all its vitality. In the development of the cultus the ritual was so prominent that religion seemed to become mechanical and worship a form of words. In the strengthening of the Church the system of organization was overemphasized, and the power that should have created spiritual energy among the

laity became an objective for the gain of the clergy. This process of acclimatizing Christianity resulted in certain distinct losses, which were not peculiar to any one section of the Church. The simple faith of the early days grew dim. The belief in the benevolent character of God, which Jesus had tried to instil into the minds of his disciples, was obscured. The tendency to push Him out of intimate connection with His world resulted in a loss of the sense of fellowship. Jesus Christ, once the friend of sinners and elder brother of the saints, was so highly exalted that he too seemed out of reach. He was fitted by the theologians into a scheme of salvation, but that salvation must be mediated through the Church by means of priest and sacrament. Cyprian expressed the general conviction when he declared that outside the Church was no salvation. Once the Church had been the social organization which bound the Christians together in a holy fellowship. Now it was the custodian of the sacraments, which were the channels of divine grace, and the ordainer of priests who could open the door to salvation or close it against whom they wished. By confession to the priest the sinner could hope to be forgiven, and by the payment of imposed penance he could atone in a measure for his continual faults.

THE VENERATION OF THE VIRGIN MARY

Not content with the services of the priest, men and women resorted to heavenly agencies. They worshiped God and Christ, but they seemed so far away that intimate petitions were made to lesser dignitaries. Though their power to help was limited, they might intercede with the Divine. Most honored of such intermediaries was Mary, the mother of Jesus.

The veneration of Mary appears as early as the apocryphal literature of the New Testament. The worship of pagan goddesses predisposed the people to think of the mother of the Lord as worthy of more than respect. The origin of Christian veneration is traced to an heretical sect of women in Arabia. Women instinctively turned to Mary as their protector. In the doctrinal controversies in the East the question was debated as to whether she might be spoken of as the mother of God (*θεοτόκος*). The trend of opinion was to make her the medium of all communication with Christ and of equal dignity with God Himself. From the fourth century the veneration of Mary became common. In the next century churches and shrines were dedicated to her. The Ave Maria was recited with the Pater-

noster. Commemorative days were set apart in honor of her annunciation (March 25), her purification (Candlemas Day, February 2), and her assumption (August 15). A belief in her perpetual virginity became a fixed dogma of the Church, though many of the ancient Fathers did not maintain the doctrine. Augustine, who established the standards of Catholic theology, declared that Mary was sinless, though he was in doubt as to whether she was tainted with original sin. The affirmation of her purity was only a question of time, and it became a prominent doctrine of the Middle Ages. In 1854 Pope Pius IX completed the theory by announcing the fact of the immaculate conception of the Virgin. The veneration of the Virgin crowned Christian womanhood with its highest glory, and ennobled her sex at a time when the inferiority of woman was an accepted principle, even in the Christian Church. But the deified mother obscured the divine Father, and the Son was made subordinate to a human parent.

THE VENERATION OF THE SAINTS

The ignorant people who were deprived of their patron divinities when paganism was banned, turned readily to the veneration of saintly characters among the early Christians. Reverence for those who had suffered martyrdom led to ceremonies at their tombs, and altars were erected over their graves. Later it was believed that merit would accrue in the sight of God if one went on pilgrimage to the grave of a saint, to the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, or to the tombs of Peter and Paul and the catacombs at Rome. Pilgrimage to Jerusalem was stimulated when Constantine and his mother, Helena, built churches at the Holy Places. Monks of saintly lives were revered and the Church gave its sanction by canonizing saints. Pope Boniface IV in the seventh century converted the old Roman Pantheon into a church sacred to the Virgin and all the martyrs, and established the festival of All Saints. More than two centuries earlier the practice came into vogue of adopting individual saints as patrons of an individual or of a locality. A distinction was made by the Church between the veneration and the invocation of saints, and worship was declared to be to God alone, but the ordinary mind found it difficult to make the distinction. Relics were prized as working miracles, and the traffic in them became so great that the Emperor Theodosius forbade it, but without effect. The time came when no church was considered properly dedicated without relics.

CHRISTIAN ART AND THE VENERATION OF IMAGES

The use of symbols and visible representations of sacred subjects, such as pictures and images, aided the imagination in the interpretation of religion. Paul saw in baptism a symbol of the washing away of sin and new life in Christ. Pictures of the ark were symbolic of salvation. A characteristic symbol of early Christian art was a picture of a fish with the Greek word $\chi\rho\upsilon\varsigma$, the letters of which indicated the initials of the Greek words for "Jesus Christ, God's Son, Savior." A lamb or a dove, palms and baskets of fruit, a ship or a shepherd, were other symbols which are found engraved on gems, cut in ivories, or painted on glass. The cross, a picture of the Good Shepherd with a lamb on his shoulder, or a portrait of Christ, were reminders of him upon the walls of church or catacomb, or other gathering places. The sign of the cross was in use in certain pagan cults before it became the distinctive symbol of Christianity. The Emperor Constantine was the first to employ it officially as a sign on the forehead. The adoration of the Cross became general by the fourth century. As early as the time of Constantine the use of the crucifix began to take the place of the cross, but it was four hundred years later before it became general in the Latin Church.

Many specimens of Christian art have been recovered from the catacombs where the dead were buried. On the walls of the catacombs and subterranean chapels were painted scenes with subjects of Christian interest. The catacombs have a peculiar interest as the cemeteries of the Christians, who buried their dead rather than cremate them, as occasional places of worship, though less commonly than once was thought, and sometimes as places of hiding when persecution was raging.

By the fourth century such painted scenes as had been common in the cemeteries were found in the churches, but a rigorous exclusion of images of Deity maintained its vogue for a time. In the Greek churches especially the veneration of images, first of Christ and then of the saints, became popular. When Mohammedanism penetrated the Eastern Empire, the Mohammedans criticized the idolatry of the Christians, and in the eighth century the emperor, Leo the Isaurian, vigorously opposed such veneration, but monks and women and even the Roman pope supported the practice, and the opposition even of an emperor was unavailing.

WORSHIP AND RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS

The simple worship of the earlier period became regulated and a definite ritual came into use. Christian worship was dignified when church buildings were consecrated for that purpose. The Roman basilica, where the congregation worshiped in the nave and the choir and the clergy were elevated near the altar at one end of the building, proved well adapted for Christian use, and the buildings were made larger and more ornate as worship became more elaborate and throngs of people attended. In the grand church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, begun by Constantine and completed by Justinian, two naves crossed each other at the center of the building, making the ground plan of a Greek cross. Above the center hung a dome, lifting the thought of the worshiper to the Most High. In the West the plan of the Latin cross with a shorter transept was preserved, but the style of architecture was modified to the Romanesque, and it was followed by the Gothic in the later Middle Ages. Very early arose the custom of sprinkling water upon the person for cleansing; priests blessed baptismal waters; and fonts were placed at church doors, where the people dipped their fingers in holy water and sprinkled or crossed themselves that by some magic good results might follow.

After the recognition of Christianity by Constantine Sunday was dignified by the requirement of relaxation from business and later of cessation of farm labor. Soon public spectacles were forbidden on that day. But the great festivals of the Church overshadowed Sunday. Although festivals were common to Jews and pagans, they came into use among Christians slowly. The resurrection of Jesus prompted the joyful celebration of Easter, preceded by a Lenten season and followed later by Pentecost. Epiphany, on the sixth of January, commemorated in the East the adoration of the Magi. In the West Christmas came to be observed as the birthday of Jesus, and the custom extended to the East. The actual time of the event was unknown; it may have been that the Roman Saturnalia and Mithraic observance of the twenty-fifth of December influenced the choice of that day for Christmas in order that the people might be weaned from pagan celebrations. Gradually many special days were adopted in honor of the Trinity, of the transfiguration, and of other events in the life of Jesus, and of various saints in the calendar of the Church, some of them adapted from pagan festivals. Processions

were adaptations of pagan customs, organized in the West near the end of the fourth century. They were intended to make an impression upon the minds of those who worshiped in the churches, and they were accompaniments of festivals. These religious activities, arranged and guided by the clergy, were semipagan expressions of the religious impulse, and people participated in them because it was the custom and because they believed that they were of value to their souls. It was a time of pessimism as the ancient glory of the empire grew dim and clouds hung darkly on the northern horizon, where Teutonic tribes were massing for invasion.

JEROME

Jerome (340-420), is an example of a still greater devotion to piety. To him, as to an increasing number of men and women, life lost its tang after youth passed and religion offered the only means of real satisfaction. Jerome was a native of Venetia at the head of the Adriatic Sea. He spent the first part of a long life as a wandering student, visiting the centers of education. Later he lived for a few years at Rome, where he became secretary to Bishop Damasus. At his suggestion Jerome undertook to revise the Latin version of the Gospels. An Old Latin translation had been in use in the provinces of the West since the second century, but all manuscripts had to be copied by hand and errors had crept into them. It was time these were eliminated. Jerome accepted the task and it grew into a new version of the whole Bible. This came to be called the Vulgate, because it was the people's version, in use throughout the Roman Catholic Church. It was more than eleven hundred years before the Council of Trent gave it official sanction, but usage had confirmed it long before. As an ancient version the Vulgate has been used in comparison with other texts by all Biblical scholars, and vernacular translations of the Catholics are based on the Vulgate version.

Jerome was fascinated by the hermit life. For several years he had practiced asceticism in Syria, and while in Rome he talked about the monastic principle until he had persuaded a number of the illustrious women of the city to make it their ideal. After three years spent in Rome he went to the East, where he carried out his ascetic ideals by founding a monastic retreat for himself and others at Bethlehem in Palestine. There, during the last half of a long life, he

lived abstemiously, corresponded widely, fought theological battles with his pen, and acted as spiritual adviser of both men and women who lived in monastic retirement.

HERMITS AND MONKS

Monasticism was becoming popular in the Mediterranean lands. The real value of Christianity was in its spiritual dynamic. If people lost that out of their life and thought, they lost their birthright as Christians. When the Church as a whole was no longer true to its original ideals and there was little opportunity for the development of the spiritual nature with the increasing emphasis on substitutes, men and women in growing numbers withdrew from their customary associations and hoped that they would get nearer God in solitude. At first they went to the outskirts of the inhabited towns, then in their zeal for loneliness they went farther away. Desert regions, especially in Egypt, became their haunts. The rocks and caves gave them rude shelter. In such places they had ample opportunity to practice the self-denial in which they believed, and the climate lent itself to their austerities without too great hardship.

A reputation for saintliness made them the recipients of popular attention and generosity. Not all of them were saints. Perhaps a majority were genuinely religious, but some went out to court notoriety, like the pillar saints. Some were fugitives from justice. Some were merely eccentric. Most of them were willing to mortify the flesh if they might save their souls. By the fourth century thousands of hermits were scattered among the inhospitable places in the East, where Christian monasticism had its beginnings. St. Anthony of Thebes was the best-known representative, and his story stimulated others to imitate him, even in the West. The best-known saints among the hermits attracted lesser men, who grouped themselves in neighboring quarters called *lauras*. This grouping was a step toward the monasteries where they might live under a common roof under the authority of the man whom they revered.

Although monasticism was in its inception individualistic, the communal life necessitated discipline over the members. In the fourth century Pachomius had seven thousand monks under his control in Egypt; his rule extended to Syria, and it was carried by Athanasius into Italy and Gaul. Basil in Cappadocia regulated the monks of that region with less emphasis on asceticism, and with a recognition of the value of labor and social service as well as of

prayer and contemplation. Monasteries under Basilian rule were established sometimes in the cities and their vicinity, as was the famous Studium at Constantinople. Equally famous was the house on the rocky promontory of Mount Athos in Chalcidice.

WESTERN MONASTICISM

In due time Monasticism became popular in the West. Martin of Tours in Gaul was a contemporary of Jerome. Though a Catholic bishop, he lived in a cave in the vicinity of his church, and superintended a community of about eighty disciples, whom he trained rigidly. His disciples were popular as priests of parishes, because the people knew that they were worthy men. The name of Martin was revered through Gaul and beyond. Southern Gaul was famed for its monasteries, especially that of John Cassian, an Eastern monk who settled at Massilia and wrote a handbook of monasticism, which became a recognized guide to the monastic life. The monks of that region were a force in the Western Church, both spiritually and theologically. Off the coast of the Riviera the monastery of Lerins was built on an island early in the fifth century when social confusion followed German invasions. It became famous as a training school for the clergy. St. Vincent of Lerins made classic the famous saying of the Catholics that what has always and everywhere been believed must be accepted as authoritative.

The coasts of Gaul and the islands of Italy became retreats for women as well as men. Pachomius had organized a nunnery in Egypt, and Jerome was the spiritual director of another at Bethlehem. While Rome was flourishing, certain women of the aristocracy tired of the display and iniquity of fashionable life and retired to a quiet life of religious devotion. Later the German inroads made the nunneries a place of sanctuary. Wealthy men were glad to endow them in consideration of the prayers of the nuns for their souls.

THE BENEDICTINE SYSTEM

Irresponsible monks sometimes made themselves a nuisance wandering about the country. Jovinian, an Italian, and a few others protested against the principle of monasticism and declared that faith was the password to salvation and a man's place was in the midst of the world's work. But the Catholic Church found a place for the monastic system and an Italian hermit gave Western monasticism its most famous rule. This was Benedict of Nursia (480-543). He

was able to give the varied forms uniformity, and to bring the vagrant monks under discipline and make them useful. At Monte Cassino in Italy, whither his reputation as a hermit saint attracted other men, the mother monastery was built. Like earlier monastic rules the Benedictine system left each monastery independent of outside control, but required a vow of the individual monks promising the surrender of all property and a life of chastity and obedience to the will of the superior. The monastery, however, was like a family, where the abbot democratically consulted the whole household before doing anything important.

Monks in the West were not permitted to live an idle, contemplative life. The practical mind of its people expected practical results from the monastic institution. Benedictine monks cleared forests and drained marshes, setting the common people an example of industry and good rural methods. They preserved and copied ancient manuscripts, studied the writings of the past, and established monastery schools as almost the only oases in the desert of ignorance which followed the collapse of Western civilization. Certain of the monks became missionaries to the forest tribes of the North.

HILARY AND AMBROSE

As Jerome represented the "regulars" of the monasteries, so Ambrose (340-c. 395) and Hilary (c. 305-368) were examples of the "seculars" of the dioceses and parishes. Hilary of Poitiers was the champion of orthodoxy in Gaul in that period of recovery of the Arians after the Council of Nicea. Because of his attitude, which was opposed to the policy of the emperor, he was forced to go into exile to the East, where he became better acquainted with the Greek theologians and their theories. He wrote an extensive monograph on the Trinity for the instruction of the churchmen of Gaul. After several years he was able to return to his diocese and to recover the province for the Athanasian faith. This Hilary is not to be confused with Hilary of Arles, who in the next century had a controversy with Pope Leo I over jurisdiction. As the Bishop of Arles Hilary was archbishop of southeastern Gaul, and by virtue of his authority he ventured to depose a refractory bishop. But Leo espoused the cause of the bishop, forced Hilary to submit to his decision in favor of the deposed bishop, and improved the occasion to obtain from the emperor a declaration that the Bishop of Rome was the supreme head of the Western Church. But the German invasions

changed the situation in Gaul, and the Roman ascendancy had to be won over again after the Franks had become the political masters.

Ambrose was bishop in Milan, where he became the champion of episcopal rights, as Cyprian had been in North Africa, and Hilary at Arles. Of a family prominent in imperial politics, he held high political office in his young manhood and his prospects for preferment were flattering, but he surrendered them when the people clamored for him as their bishop. He became an eloquent preacher, and contributed to the development of music in the Church, but it is as a champion of righteousness and orthodoxy that he gained admiration. During the time of his leadership in northern Italy paganism was still a rival of Christianity, and this competition was marked by a contest between Ambrose and Symmachus, the spokesman for paganism, over the propriety of having a pagan altar of Victory in the senate house at Rome. It had been moved about several times with the ebb and flow of opinion, but Ambrose was able to keep the altar out of the way permanently.

A second dispute was with the Arians, who were powerful at Milan in the period between the Council of Nicea and that of Constantinople. Ambrose refused the use of a church to them and had a battle royal on his hands for a short time, but again he won. A third contest was the most serious, for it was with the Emperor Theodosius. In a fit of anger the emperor had ordered a massacre of the people in Thessalonica because of a bloody riot, and Ambrose blocked his entrance into the church when he came to worship. Until the emperor should do penance for his sin he would not be admitted. It required undaunted courage to face an emperor who could order him to death at a word, but his sheer audacity and demand for justice won him the victory. Ambrose overshadowed the bishops of Rome in his time. He was the forerunner of a long line of Catholic churchmen who by a strenuous insistence upon their episcopal authority made the Church respected and powerful through the Middle Ages.

AUGUSTINE, MASTER THEOLOGIAN OF THE WEST

The great discussions over the divine nature were in the main Eastern rather than Western. The West accepted the decisions of the four ecumenical councils, but it developed with more interest the practical questions of man and his destiny, of sin and the means of salvation. The most renowned thinker among the Latins was

Augustine, Bishop of Hippo in North Africa (350-430). Trained at Carthage, he became a teacher at Carthage and Rome, and later was professor of rhetoric at Milan. There he came under the influence of Ambrose, and was won for Christianity from a sympathetic liking for Neoplatonism and Manichæanism. He had such an experience of personal sin and forgiveness that it shaped his thinking about theology, and during his thirty-five years in the bishopric of Hippo he worked out a system of Latin theology which became the Catholic standard for more than a thousand years. Augustine's insistence on the personal relation of man to God made him acceptable even to the Protestants of the sixteenth century. His doctrine of human sin and divine salvation gave to the Christian people a dogma which matched in importance the dogmas about God and Christ with which the Greek mind was obsessed. In his *Confessions* Augustine wrote his spiritual autobiography, one of the masterpieces of the relation of mystical experience. Convinced of the stern reality of sin, he felt that his only escape was through the mercy of God. That was the key to his severe doctrine of a sovereign God whose predestinating will elects to save a few only of the lost human race.

As the greatest theologian of the Western Church Augustine's ideas need description. On the fundamentals of the existence and character of God and the deity of Christ he was in harmony with the decisions of the councils, but he was careful to maintain the essential unity of God and the humanity as well as the divinity of Christ. His principal interest was not in the field of metaphysics but in that practical field of theological thought which had to do with the sin of man and his salvation through the grace of God. The Roman world was getting farther and farther away from the lightheartedness of the earlier Greeks and the sturdy self-reliance of the old Romans. The sense of human weakness and sin deepened as the star of empire sank steadily to its setting. Augustine is an example of the despondent thinking of those who pondered upon the meaning of life, and of the ascetic who prefers the cloister of the monastery to the freedom of social living. Through his writings he fixed the standard of Christian thinking for the West about God and man and their relation, about the Church and its sacraments, and about the ethical life. His restless mind ranged over the whole field of religious thought, left its impress everywhere, and became the norm of religious thinking for many centuries.

Augustine's greatest contribution to theology was his doctrine of divine control over the destiny of men. The Greek Fathers main-

tained a certain power of free will in man as over against the pagan doctrine of fate. It seemed to them possible that man could coöperate with God for his own salvation. But the tendency in the West was to emphasize man's fall in Adam and a consequent inability of man to choose the right. Salvation depended, therefore, on God's willingness to save. Augustine was a true Roman Catholic in believing that God chose whom He would and the Church appropriated His grace for man's benefit through the sacraments. In his emphasis upon the part of the Church in the process he minimized the importance of Christ as the Savior. Augustine's attitude toward the whole problem was influenced by his earlier thinking, but most of all probably by a realization of his own helplessness in the carnal grip of sin until God's mercy visited him.

The teaching of Augustine was opposed by Pelagius, a British monk, who claimed that man was not helpless in the hands of a partial, predestinating God, but man had a free will, as Greek Christians believe, with power to choose the way of eternal life. Man's first sin did not incapacitate him, and he could if he would turn his face toward his Creator and together with Him achieve salvation. The Pelagian controversy vexed the Church for a time both in the West and the East. Both decided against Pelagius by conciliar action, but the Church in the East always believed that man and God could coöperate in human salvation, and even in the West, where Augustine's theology was supreme, theologians found a place for man to do his bit. John Cassian, once a pupil of Chrysostom, and his school in southern Gaul were semi-Pelagian in claiming that man had the power to take the initiative in approaching God. For a century the school held its own, but the Synod of Orange in the year 529 pronounced in favor of a closer approach to Augustine. The Roman Catholic Church did not enforce uniformity on these questions of anthropology, as the Eastern councils did on their theology, but in all the minor varieties of opinion the Church insisted on its own essential place in salvation.

Augustine was the father of a philosophy of history, set forth in his *City of God*. He lived at a time of political and social upheaval, when the foundations of the Roman Empire were being undermined. The Visigoths sacked the city of Rome in the year 410. Many pagans felt that Rome's misfortunes were the consequence of the neglect of the old gods. Augustine wrote to show that the decline of paganism was due to other causes, and to foretell the triumph of the Christian order in place of the empire whose end

was near. He believed that God intended that the Church should rule the State rather than the State the Church. This idea of the City of God became the political philosophy of the medieval papacy, in which that institution persisted until in the thirteenth century it made good its claim to give law to the nations. For more than a thousand years the Church was regarded as identical with the kingdom of God.

By the middle of the fifth century the ancient Church had fairly completed its theology, its organization, and its forms of worship. It had won a place of honor in the empire, and was soon to succeed to the place of social control as the political government became paralyzed. Its ethical influence upon society was having salutary effects, and though it could not save the political institutions of the empire in the West, it did much to preserve ancient civilization as a legacy to the future.

But more and more after the time of Augustine, with the decline of ancient civilization and the failure of orderly society, people seemed caught in the grip of a power beyond themselves. The doctrine of human helplessness which was characteristic of Augustinianism seemed to be true. If the only hope of man lay in what the Church could do for him through its sacraments, his only course was to stand by the Church. It had proved its strength against all the power of the Roman Empire. It was showing itself on occasion a protector of all the people against the barbarian plunderer. Its portal was the way of safety for this world and the next, and its priest kept the key. Henceforth the Church was all powerful. Christianity had created an institution as ecclesiastical and sacerdotal as the Jewish Church. Church organization had been necessary to save Christianity. The priest had been commissioned to recommend men to God. Theologians had wrestled intellectually to formulate a true faith. Christianity was a system of religion. But religion had lost its spiritual radiance. The people had lost their vision of God. Christ was only an agent of the Church for all practical purposes, no longer a friend of man. And times that were to try men's souls lay ahead.

THE CHURCH AT ROME

The Christian Church at Rome dates from the first century. The tradition that it originated with Peter gave it the prestige of his name, but for two centuries it contributed fewer leaders to the Christian movement than the churches of Asia Minor, Alexandria

and Carthage. It was large in membership and it had the reputation of being generous to other churches and missionary in spirit. Its judgment was respected in matters of faith and practice. As the church of the capital city it was immediately under the eye of the Government, its members were the first to suffer the effects of persecution, and a number of its officers died as martyrs. At times one of its leaders ventured to assume the rôle of mentor to other churches. First among these was Clement, who about the end of the first century wrote the letter to the Corinthians which is classed among the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. The Roman Church claimed to have the apostolic tradition from both Peter and Paul, its guardianship of that tradition was emphasized by Irenæus, and it was referred to occasionally as possessing the true faith. Its creed became a model of belief. Its opposition to Montanism and Gnosticism added to its reputation. But it had no general ecclesiastical authority.

About the middle of the second century its bishop, Anicetus, disagreed with Polycarp of Asia Minor over the proper date for observing Easter. This dispute became complicated with an issue over the nature of the observance. Before the century was over synods were meeting to discuss the question, and the decision was in favor of the Roman contention. When the churches of Asia Minor refused to accept the decision, Bishop Victor of Rome threatened to excommunicate them, but yielded to the protest of Irenæus. The contest marks the decline of Asia Minor relative to the rise of Rome.

Still more arrogant than Victor was Bishop Callistus, who about the year 220 asserted his right to make rules for the readmission to the Church of those who had been cut off because of licentiousness. He opposed the Trinitarian tendency in current theological discussions. On this issue and that of discipline he incurred the hostility of Hippolytus, the ablest man of his times (165-235) in the Roman area. Hippolytus appears to have become a rival bishop for a time though a good Catholic, and is reckoned among the leading Christian thinkers of the period, but in an outbreak of imperial persecution he met his fate. He was a prolific writer, but most of his works have perished.

INCREASING POWER OF THE BISHOP OF ROME

By the third century the church at Rome enjoyed the highest prestige of any church in Christendom, but as late as the time of

Ambrose the Roman bishop was only one among many bishops. The fourth century added to his prestige. In the Donatist schism Constantine turned to the Bishop of Rome to be the mediator. In the Christological controversy the opinion of Rome was important, though not decisive. Bishop Siricius near the end of the fourth century assumed authority to dictate to a Spanish bishop who had written for advice, and suggested that the Spaniard transmit the Roman decision to other bishops in Spain. This authority was recognized by the Emperor Theodosius. Other emperors were equally generous, until in the fifth century Valentinian III decreed the supremacy of Bishop Leo I, with power to make law for the whole Western Church. Certain church synods added their sanction to the claims of the Romans. The regional Synod of Sardica, held in 343, recognized a right of appeal to the Roman bishop or his appointees for hearing the case. The second general council, meeting at Constantinople, actually gave Rome precedence over the new capital, though this was modified at Chalcedon in 451 to give the bishops of both cities equal dignity. The Eastern bishops never recognized the authority of the Bishop of Rome over them.

The fact that the Bishop of Rome was the only patriarch in the West strengthened his claims, and the ability of certain popes gave them prestige. Bishop Innocent I, who came to the pontifical chair in 402, was the first who seems to have sensed the universal dominion to which the Roman Church might look forward. He was a man of birth and character, and for fifteen years he shaped his policies so as to increase the authority of his see. He asserted unequivocally the subordination of all the churches of the West to Rome in matters of discipline and ecclesiastical usage. It was during his lifetime that the Visigoths sacked Rome, plain evidence of the weakness of the political empire and indication of changing conditions in the field of government. It was excusable for bishops of Rome to dream that they might yet become sovereigns of the Western world. Yet after the death of Innocent the churches of North Africa refused to recognize subordination to Rome, and for several centuries occasions arose when churches in the West refused to acknowledge Roman doctrinal authority. The East, of course, would admit no claims of Rome to supremacy.

Leo I may properly be called pope, a dignity once used by every local pastor, but coming to be restricted as a title to the Bishop of Rome. Leo was a typical Roman in his proud, ambitious spirit, and

in his courage at critical times. He based his authority on Peter's headship of the Church, and vigorously enforced his claims. With the achievement of the papacy in the West and a definite decision on the theological controversy in the East, the middle of the fifth century is a landmark in the history of the Christian people. The extinction of the imperial title in the West came a quarter of a century later.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. Why should Augustinianism have maintained its ascendancy, even into the Protestant period?
2. What gave the papacy its supremacy in the West?
3. What changes were taking place in the content of religion?
4. Why should the mother of Jesus receive such increasing veneration?
5. Can you trace connection between saint worship and paganism?
6. Outline the iconoclastic controversy.
7. What is the early history of the Benedictine system of monasticism?
8. Trace the changes in the manner of worship in the churches.
9. Compare the character and the careers of Jerome and Ambrose.
10. What are the salient features of the Pelagian controversy?

For class discussion or debate

1. Did the use of pictures and images in the churches have enough of value to balance the popular tendency to make idols of them?
2. Did the increasing power of the papacy prove an asset to civilization or a liability?
3. Appraise Eastern and Western monasticism.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. Simeon, the Pillar Saint.
2. Martin of Tours.
3. Leo I's sermon on Peter's headship of the Roman Church.

For longer written essays

1. A critique of the Vulgate as a Bible translation.
2. The monastic rule of the Benedictines.
3. The origins of Mariolatry.
4. The religious experience of Augustine.

For conference and examination

1. Augustine's doctrine of the Church compared with that of Calvin.

For maps and tables

1. A map to illustrate Latin Christianity in the times of Jerome and Augustine.
2. List the aids to religion in use.
3. Review and tabulate the principal characters in the history of the Church between 50 and 450.

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CHAPTER X

THE TIDAL WAVE OF FOREIGN IMMIGRATION

POLITICAL DECLINE IN THE WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE

WHILE the Christian Church was growing in outward prosperity and taking hard blows from the State, the empire was weakening. Economic fortunes were declining as war and pestilence swept away the workers, the families best able to rear children were small in size, taxation was heavy and unjustly distributed, money was scarce and coinage was debased, and the whole system of industry rested on slavery and rural serfdom. The irresponsible power of unworthy or inefficient emperors in the third and fourth centuries resulted in despotism and did not prevent disorder. The empire had reached its widest limits under Trajan about the year 100 A.D. The second century brought a succession of emperors who ruled wisely and prosperity was widespread, but by the end of the century the empire was on the defensive. Marcus Aurelius found it necessary to protect the northern frontier, and after him government was less efficient. The army upon which the empire was so dependent made and unmade emperors almost at will during the third century, so that the State was virtually a military tyranny.

The empire had come into existence with Augustus at the end of a period of civil war between rival dictators. The old republican constitution had broken down, but it never had been legally abolished. The system needed reorganization, and Diocletian, who began to reign in the year 284, made the attempt to revise the constitution. A powerful Persian kingdom had arisen in the East, and some of the Roman changes seem to have been suggested by that rival organization. Diocletian surrounded himself with Oriental state and gathered all the functions of government into his own hands. But he was convinced that the empire was too wide to be administered properly by one man or from one center. He therefore divided the territory with a friend, and each associated with himself a younger man who should guard the frontier provinces and

in time succeed to supreme authority. The scheme worked admirably until it was wrecked by the personal ambitions of Diocletian's successors. Constantine was victor in civil war and in 313 reunited the provinces under his single rule. He created four prefectures for convenience of administration and established his capital on the Bosphorus at Byzantium, later called Constantinople. It was Constantine who gave legal recognition to Christianity. After Constantine died in 337 his sons frittered away their political strength in quarreling over the throne. Thirty years later their cousin Julian reigned for a few years and tried to restore the pagan religion, but he died before he could do harm to the Christians.

THE GERMANS OF THE NORTHERN FORESTS

In 375 A.D. the empire of Rome lay full length along both sides of the Mediterranean Sea from the western ocean to the borders of the eastern desert. On the west lay the Atlantic. The eastern border had been pushed back from the Euphrates by the virile Persian kingdom, but its northern frontier still held. The Alps rose like a rampart to protect the peninsula of Italy as the Himalayas protect India, but the Roman arms had conquered provinces on either side which were bounded by the Rhine and Danube rivers. These two streams constituted the natural frontier of the empire on the north. Beyond was the homeland of tribes of barbarians belonging to the German, or Teutonic, race.

On the hither side of the frontier great cities held their scores of thousands of inhabitants interested in gain or absorbed in pleasure. Large estates with hundreds of serfs and slaves stretched away from the cities. Still larger regions of unoccupied land reached farther on. Industrial and fine arts, accumulated wealth, unrestrained enjoyment made life gay and plentiful, but the empire was hollow within and wherever the first hard blow was given the shell would break.

On the farther side of the Rhine and Danube were forests and fens overfull of Germans. The territory over which they wandered was a broad plain which sloped northward to the North and Baltic seas. The people who lived there were getting uneasy. Hunting and a crude agriculture gave them a living, but game was getting scarce, for the camp fires and lodges of the clansmen were too close together. It was difficult to find sufficient food for the children, for the women of the tribes could not raise grain enough on their

small cultivated patches of soil to feed so many mouths. Over the southern border were rich provinces of an empire which was growing weak. It had been the steady policy of the empire to bar the northern hordes from the frontier crossings, and sometimes it had required force. The government had permitted them to filter into southern or western territory in small numbers. Many Germans had become serfs on the large landed estates, and individuals of ability were admitted into the ranks of political officials and army officers. They proved that they had a capacity for civilization, but because of the barbarism and restless energy of the tribes just beyond the frontier they were a real menace to the declining empire. The Germans were temperamental as children, fond of drinking and gambling and fighting. They were individualistic in disposition and therefore might never coalesce to form a dangerous fighting force, but they had their clan kinships and tribal organizations, with the sanctions of a grim nature religion. The Romans rather despised them as inferiors, but the more thoughtful dreaded the time when the frontier barriers might break and the hordes so long kept at bay might be free to loot and kill.

THE BREAKING OF THE FRONTIER

At last the *wanderlust* carried them away. Coalescing in large tribal units they began to move, slowly as a glacier and as irresistible. The tribe of Visigoths pushed leisurely into the lower Danube valley. They came into closer contact with Byzantine civilization, and Ulfilas and other missionaries taught them the meaning of Christianity. The religion of Christ already had penetrated to the nomads by means of hermits and monks, but it was doubtless crude teaching and imperfectly understood. Ulfilas translated the Bible for the Goths and thus laid the foundation of their literary language. But their conversion to Arian Christianity was little more than nominal and did not tame their gypsy spirit. Slavic peoples from the East were crowding upon their rear, and the lure of the Roman provinces was just beyond the Danube. In the year 375 they ventured across the river. Three years later at Adrianople they defeated the Roman legions sent to block their way.

THE INRUSH OF THE FLOOD

The Goths were free to go where they would. They deployed over Macedonia, Greece and Illyricum. With slow but resistless

progress they traversed the region, then moved up the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea into the peninsula of Italy, and in 410 sacked Rome. Eventually they found their way into southern Gaul and Spain, where Goths later fused with provincials, and the foundations were laid for an independent Gothic kingdom.

On the heels of the Visigoths moved their kinsmen, the Ostrogoths, and toward the end of the fifth century established a kingdom in Italy under Theodoric, who did what he could to salvage some of the ancient civilization. Meantime other tribes were finding room for themselves elsewhere. Burgundians crossed the Rhine and settled in the upper valley. Vandals ravaged Gaul, crossed the Pyrenees before the Visigoths arrived there, moved across Spain, and found a home in North Africa about the time of the death of Augustine at Hippo. Following Vandals and Goths came the Franks, destined to be the most important of them all.

The Germans never seemed to decrease in numbers. They emerged from the forests and traversed the plains, pushed through the passes of the mountains and forded rivers which blocked their path, defied every armed force that dying Rome could bring against them, and settled down to occupy and use the best land of Greece and Italy, of Gaul and Spain and Britain. They moved as irresistibly as a glacier; overspread parts of the empire as widely as a flood; mowed down all opposition as relentlessly as a prairie fire. Governments tottered and fell. Cities opened their gates to the invaders, and left the inhabitants to be robbed and murdered, unless they were defended by their religious leaders. Fortunately most of the tribes had been converted to Arian Christianity by unknown missionaries before the invasions occurred. They therefore stood in awe of the priests and had some regard for the churches. But splendid palaces went up in smoke and flame. Libraries were scattered and art treasures were destroyed. Little that ancient civilization had accumulated through the centuries was spared when it came in their path.

Thus the fifty years between 378 and 428 saw the breaking up of the Western dominion of Rome. Already provincials had sat on the imperial throne, and Germans had served as mercenaries in the Roman armies. It was a German general who broke a formidable invasion of Huns from the steppes of Asia in a battle fought in 451 at Chalons in Gaul. It was a Vandal who avenged a Roman empress and sacked Rome again in 455. It was a German mercenary general who set up four weak emperors in succession, until the ruin of the

West was so complete that it did not seem worth while to continue to name an emperor. The machinery broke down completely in 476. For nearly a century there had been two divisions of the empire, and in the East the organization went on unchanged with the name and ambition of a Roman Empire. Early in the sixth century Justinian was able to recover Italy and North Africa for a short time, and he gave a code of civil law to the Roman world about the time that Benedict of Nursia was regulating monasticism, but another German tribe, the Lombards, overran northern Italy, and the East definitely lost its hold upon the Western provinces. The West could not be saved to the ancient order, and it was a grave question what would be the effect upon Christianity.

FUSION OF THE PEOPLES

The invasions had serious consequences. A shift took place in the ownership of land, commerce declined, literature and arts decayed, and the West once for all turned its face away from the East. Social readjustments became necessary. The immigrants were not numerous enough to replace the provincials, and they proved susceptible to culture. The new race was a fertile soil for the transplanting of what remained of the old civilization. Roman town life did not cease in Italy. In the country barbarian chieftains liked to lord it over peasants and slaves. Many of the Germans became serfs on the estates and Roman peasants tended to sink to that level as the slaves tended to rise. The Germans were quick to learn the values of the old customs, and more than one German chief tried to imitate the civilized rule which previously existed.

Immigration presented a race problem that was difficult, but in spite of his spirit of independence the German was ready to compromise. His individual independence and democratic institutions were an asset, and fused with Roman customs they were to produce the feudal system of the Middle Ages. He liked to roam, but as he learned the value of land he was glad to settle down on his acres. He had mental capacity, but his wits were sharpened only by the hard knocks of experience. He was slow to appreciate indoor education. Physically he was far superior to the sophisticated Roman. By intermarriage the two races blended and from the intermixture came the medieval Italian, Frenchman, and Spaniard. In religion Christianity was able to conquer the simple cults of the Northland, but like the pagan Romans, the Germans mingled pagan ideas and

practices with the Christianity which they professed to accept. This further dilution of Christianity did not purify its quality. Especially difficult was it for the Germans to be really loyal to a Prince of Peace; too often he became a patron of their wars; but religion softened the blow of invasion and modified savagery. It would be a long time before those who loved the shout of battle would lay aside the battle-axe and become considerate of the rights of others, but Christianity was a humanizing influence, however weak it might be. When a military chieftain entered a Christian church, looked upon the sacred altar and its bands of priests, listened to the chanting of the choir and smelled the fragrance of incense, he knelt with a sense of awe and worshiped the unseen Spirit whose presence he felt. Sometimes churches were destroyed in the general ruin and clergymen were killed, but the Church was the one institution that survived with undiminished power. The Roman papacy in particular gained prestige as the bulwark of civilization, protected by divine power, and it was revered by the superstitious invaders as beneficent and indestructible.

THE GERMANS AND THE CHURCH

The Germans had their unwritten law in the form of tribal customs. These were affected by both Roman ideas and Christian principles and the laws became codified among the several tribes. The Church used its influence presently through great assemblies which legislated for Church and State, like the councils of Toledo in Spain. Feuds were checked by making churches places of refuge for the lawbreaker, and holy days were made sacred from feud. Before the period of anarchy ended a Truce of God forbade fighting between Wednesday at sunset and sunrise on Monday morning. The influence of the Church in checking barbarism was exerted by the authority of the bishops. By their confidence in their mission to Christianize and civilize, by their intellectual ascendancy over the minds of the superstitious barbarians, and by the strength of the ideals which they held up before them, Christian leaders obtained a mastery which was little less than remarkable in such a lawless age. Yet both clergy and people felt the corrupting influences of a lawless and immoral age. The Church was dragged down in its effort to lift humanity. But usually it was on the side of law and order, peace and purity, kindness and truth, and the spirit of Christianity never ceased to do its work, even when the Church failed.

In his own diocese each bishop was a little pope, and in his tiny parish each Catholic priest imitated his superior. The Church throughout its range stood for authority and uniformity in faith and practice, and aspired to civil as well as spiritual supremacy as the agent of God on earth. It had most of the principles of sovereignty. Through its synods and councils it legislated, and its popes and bishops promulgated their own edicts. Through its thoroughly organized hierarchy it administered the law which it had made. Through its own system of ecclesiastical courts it judged cleric and layman according to the provisions of canon law. Though it had no armies, the Church had powerful weapons in the imposition of excommunication and interdict, which laid the curse of God on those who offended the ecclesiastical powers.

The Germans could overrun the provinces of the old Roman Empire and their established order of State and Church. None could hinder them from appropriating land and movable property. They could establish their new kingdoms and develop new codes of law, new political institutions, and new languages. But they could not escape the authority of a Church which represented invisible powers, and which had learned the art of law and organization from imperial Rome. The Church was the greatest of the institutions which emerged from the era of confusion. It was to strengthen itself for its new task by building up the centralized power of the papacy and by extending its influence through missionary activity among the pagan peoples of the North. But the Church had knotty problems to solve. There was the problem of orthodoxy, because most of the German tribes had accepted the Arian form of Christianity. The presence of the Lombards in Italy presented the problem of the defense of the landed property of the papacy. The supremacy of the Franks beyond the Alps presented a political power to be respected and conciliated. And the pagan Anglo-Saxons who had entered Britain presented a new problem of missionary effort.

GREGORY I, ROMAN POPE

The strength of the Church lay in its leadership, and by the sixth century the supreme leader was the pope of Rome. Gregory I was the real maker of the medieval papacy (540-604). A Roman of good birth and legal training, he was city prefect of Rome for a time, and for six years served as envoy of the pope at Constanti-

nople. He practiced asceticism in his own home after his return, and was the superior of a family of monks. Upon the death of the remaining pope from the bubonic plague he was elected by the will of clergy and people to succeed him. He acted as civil as well as ecclesiastical head, checked the inroads of the Lombards, the last German invaders of Italy, and defended the supremacy of the Roman Church against the pretensions of the Byzantine emperor and Church. He was able to exercise intermittent authority over churches in Gaul and Spain. The trend of the papacy was toward autocracy, but Gregory liked to speak of himself as "servant of the servants of God."

Gregory had a reputation as a preacher and as a reformer in church music. Aside from his worth as an administrator his greatest contribution to medieval Catholicism was his interpretation of Latin theology and his evangelistic mission to England. He emphasized the teaching of Augustine about the Church as the means of human salvation, accepting the doctrine of man's sin and helplessness. The Devil is lying in wait for souls. Saints and angels are their protectors. The sacraments of the Church are necessary to gain merit with God; without them one must endure the pains of purgatory, an idea which had begun to emerge as early as the second century. Gregory expressed his ideas through his writings as well as in his sermons. They included letters, a bishop's manual, a commentary on Job, and miraculous tales about saints and martyrs under the title of *Dialogues*.

Gregory, the first monk to sit on the papal chair, marks the transition from the ancient to the medieval. Appreciative of the old, he shared in the limitations of thought and life which were characteristic of the old. Summing up the content of past tradition, he opened the door to its wider reach by inaugurating the missionary campaigns of the Roman Church to unreached barbarians north of the old frontier.

CHRISTIANIZING A CONTINENT

In the time of Gregory the regions beyond the old frontier were still occupied by pagan Germans. Eastward were pagan tribes of Slavs with a fringe of Tartars from Asia, a threat to the peaceful existence of the Byzantine empire as the Germans had been to the western provinces. Celts hugged the coast of the Atlantic and the adjacent islands. To win that vast territory to the cross was a huge

task, but it was next in importance to strengthening the papacy as Gregory was doing. To thread the forests and ford the streams, to brave the antagonism of hostile tribes, to challenge the power of pagan priests, to persuade warlike chieftains to accept the lordship of Jesus Christ, required as much courage, skill, and patience, as Jesuit missionaries showed by the Great Lakes of America or Protestant missionaries in the jungles of Burma or the swamps of Africa. The task required men of consecration and centuries of time. The monasteries furnished the missionaries, trained and inured to discipline and hardship. The undertaking continued not less than eight centuries before the remoter tribes along the Baltic Sea and in Scandinavia were converted.

MISSIONS TO IRELAND AND ENGLAND

The people of Britain had swung within the orbit of historical vision with the coming of the Romans to the island. Julius Cæsar after his victories in Gaul looked in on the Britons, and a century later they were subjected to the imperial government of Rome. Those who would not submit were pushed back into the northern and western highlands beyond the frontiers of the province. Those who remained were brought into the political system and civilized according to the social customs of the Romans. Christianity crossed the Channel from Gaul and Britain was drawn within the circle of Catholic organization and influence. But after the continental peoples began to mill around in central Europe the Roman legions in 410 were withdrawn from Britain to defend the nearer frontiers of the empire. Picts from the Scottish highlands descended upon the unprotected Britons, as the mountain peoples of Asia might fall upon the northern provinces of India if British troops were withdrawn. Next German tribes of Angles and Saxons from the region of Jutland crossed the North Sea and invaded the South. Both Picts and Germans were pagans, and they ruthlessly exterminated the British people or drove them back to the Welsh border. Christianity suffered the same fate as the British people, and within a century and a half the foreigners had taken possession of the best part of England.

The reconquest of Britain for Christianity and its extension among the wilder tribes was accomplished during the fifth and sixth centuries. From Galloway as a base, Ninian evangelized among the Picts. Patrick, in his youth a captive among the Irish, returned

several years after his escape to extend Christianity there, and succeeded so well that he became the patron saint of the Irish. Monasteries were planted in the country, and Ireland became the base for extensive missions to England and the Continent, though the Irish people retained much of their superstition and their barbarous ways of living. In the sixth century Columba, a man of noble lineage among the Irish, pushed off in a frail coracle into the Irish Sea and on the island of Iona founded a monastery which became the mother of missionaries and the center of learning for the North during the next two hundred years. Thence Columba and other monks evangelized the Scottish hillsmen and worked south into England, talking to the people whom they met along the way, and building chapels which they used on their circuits. Chad traveled on foot from the monastery of Lindisfarne to and fro among the people of the Midlands until he became known as the Apostle of the Middle English. Hilda was abbess over both monks and nuns at Whitby. The Irish type of Christianity was both monastic and missionary, and it won the confidence of the people, though they tended to revert easily to paganism.

While the Anglo-Saxons were appropriating southern England and Irish Christianity was extending over Scotland and northern England, the attention of Pope Gregory I was attracted to England. He sent Augustine and a company of monks to convert the Anglo-Saxons from heathenism. After some hesitation on the journey Augustine arrived at the mouth of the Thames, where the Jutes had landed one hundred and fifty years earlier, succeeded in ingratiating himself with the ruler of Kent, and established his headquarters at Canterbury. After a time that center became recognized as the headquarters of Roman Christianity and an important school was maintained there. During the first fifty years the southern part of England was won to a nominal adherence to Christianity. Politically the country was divided into several small kingdoms, and the fortunes of Christianity fluctuated with the changing attitude of the princes. Magic, superstition and ignorance kept the people from any real appreciation of what the Christian religion meant. The future was problematical.

Inevitably the Irish and the Romans met and clashed. They did not agree on the date of Easter. The Irish were more ascetic. But the main difference was that Irish Christianity was quite independent of Rome. A synod was necessary to settle their rival claims

to the religious leadership of the English. The Synod met at Whitby in the year 664, and the decision was in favor of Rome. The result was the departure of the Irish monks and the prompt organization of an ecclesiastical system of diocesan episcopacy under Theodore of Tarsus, who became the archbishop of Canterbury. The multiplication of churches and schools followed, the English churches were brought into closer contact with the Catholic system on the Continent, and Roman Catholic authority later was extended over Ireland and Scotland.

MISSIONS AMONG THE TEUTONS ON THE CONTINENT

The Irish monks did not confine their activities to the British Isles. Columbanus (543-615), led a company of twelve monks into Gaul, aroused the Gallic monks to something more than a cloistered asceticism, stirred the people to a new religious enthusiasm, and introduced among them the penitential discipline which he had used at home. His introduction of the practice of confession of secret sins laid the foundation of the strong hold which the clergy had over the northern people in the Middle Ages, and it was Columbanus who began to obtain the immunity of the monasteries from the bishops. For a time the revival was popular among princes as well as people, and the Irish missionaries evangelized and founded monasteries on both sides of the Rhine and beyond in Switzerland and even northern Italy. St. Gall in Switzerland and Bobbio in Italy became famous centers of monastic learning. But the Irish monks could not organize the territory which they evangelized. It needed the secular clergy of the Roman Catholic Church to consolidate the gains. So on the Continent as in England Christian leadership passed from the Irish. From training schools in England Roman Catholic missionaries went out to preach and to found other monasteries.

Among the missionaries to the Continent no one accomplished so much as Boniface. First in pagan Frisia and Thuringia and then into the virgin territory of Hesse he went, wrestled with the pagan customs of the people, built Christian churches, and sent for monks and nuns from England. He asked his home country for books and furnishings for the churches, and became the bearer of civilization to the people. His disciples went out to new locations and established outposts of Christianity. In the course of the years Boniface founded monasteries at a number of places which later became strategic centers

of Christian progress and seats of bishoprics. These stations were as typical of the medieval period as the municipal centers of the Roman Empire were typical of ancient religious expansion. Boniface was wise enough to go to Rome and receive the backing of the pope. He was made bishop and then archbishop, and is known in history as the Apostle to the Germans. Under the patronage of the Carolingian princes of the Franks he was able to hold synods and discipline the clergy of Frankland. Among his converts he was insistent on moral living. Among his monks he was a stern master, but the men loved him. In a later age he might have been a statesman; as it is he ranks as one of the outstanding figures in the advance of Roman Catholicism.

THE APPROACH OF THE TEUTONS TO CHRISTIANITY

It was almost hopeless for the Christian Church genuinely to Christianize the barbarians. They might be nominally Christians, but it was a superficial shift in allegiance. As they were attracted by the glamour of civilization, so they were affected by the sensuous worship in the churches, and awed by their superstitious fear of the power of the priests. Their paganism was keyed to the dread aspects of nature, often stern in Germany. They transferred their ideas to the new religion, fearing an unknown future and willing to try Christian baptism as a means of insuring themselves against that future. They listened like children to the moral instructions of preachers like Boniface, and if their passions were not too strong they obeyed the directions. By degrees better moral qualities developed under their long tutelage, but even the priests were superstitious of ideas and practices which they thought were of the Devil, such as magic and witchcraft.

The most conspicuous character of the Church was its attitude of authority. An independent folk like the Germans would not have submitted willingly except through fear, but like children they were impressed by the worship of the Church and by the assumed spiritual power of the clergy. Worship especially was a powerful means of maintaining ascendancy over them. The dimness of the churches, the smoking incense, the religious chant, the solemn ritual, even the sonorous Latin of the service, each made a deep impression.

The Germans were made to feel their obligation to attend worship, to confess to the priests, and to partake of the mass, at least

occasionally. The mass was as earlier the one essential element of worship. Private masses were held, and masses for the dead. Those who were able to do so were encouraged to endow churches and monasteries that masses might be said for the good of their souls.

THE PENITENTIAL SYSTEM

The childish Teutonic people have been compared to the independent, superstitious Hebrews during the period of the Judges. Lawlessness, vice of various kinds, a lack of understanding that religion involved morals as well as ceremony, marked social life. Many of the clergy were guilty of drunken and licentious conduct, and by the tenth century the lowest depths of degradation demoralized the whole Church, even to the papacy at Rome. Heroic efforts were needed to stem the tide. During the period of tutelage a penitential system was extended generally among the neophytes in Christianity so as to impress them with the sinfulness of sin. The roots of the system went as far back as the origin of penance. That principle had been accepted with a recognition that even those who had been baptized were sinners at times and needed absolution. When penance became a full-fledged sacrament it involved contrition of soul, confession to the priest, and satisfaction for sin by means of a penalty imposed by the priest to fit the sin. Public confession was in order for a time until private confession to the priest took its place. Difference of opinion as to the severity of church discipline provoked such controversies as Novatianism in the third century. For a time every priest could regulate penance as he saw fit, but Columbanus and Theodore of Tarsus systematized the practice of confession and penance. Sins were catalogued and penalties were graduated to fit the sin. At the beginning of Lent in Gaul all the people were expected to observe Ash Wednesday in token of their universal repentance for sin. Real sorrow for sin was urged upon them, but it was easier to make a man fast for a day than to produce genuine repentance, and while the ideal remained the priest took the easy course. In the time of Charlemagne a committee of investigation was organized in the diocese. The bishop or his archdeacon accompanied by a civil officer visited all parts of the diocese, testing first the clergy and then the laity, inquiring into all manner of transgressions, ceremonial and moral. Then the Church imposed

fasts and scourging, set in motion the machinery of its courts, and relied on the political government to reënforce its penalties. In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council organized confession and made it compulsory.

After a time it was natural to accept money payments in place of imposing acts of penance, for the Germans were accustomed to pay fines for wrongdoing. This commercializing of the penitential system became the cause of many abuses, until the medieval Church with its numerous opportunities for squeezing the people, became honeycombed with greed and graft. The indulgence system, which was a fruitful cause of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, was one of the unfortunate results. The poor had so little money that they had to submit to the acts imposed, but those who had the means escaped easily.

THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS

The penitential system might be called the negative aspect of Catholic religion. The sacraments were the positive aspect. Various aids to religion were in use—shrines and images, crosses, pictures, holy water, genuflexions—but by a process of selection seven sacraments evolved for the use of Catholics. They attended the progress of a person's life from birth to death. Baptism, confirmation, penance, the mass, and extreme unction at the point of death, were available for everybody. Marriage was made a sacrament to dignify the family relation, and keep the people from gross sins. Ordination was for the clergy alone. The idea of the sacrament was an evidence of the intangible, a medium of divine favor. In the mass, it was believed, was a real presence of the Savior, once the bread and wine had been consecrated by the priest. This might be interpreted in a mystical sense by some, but the people as a whole must think in concrete terms. Hence arose the medieval explanation of transubstantiation.

Transubstantiation was the doctrine that the bread and wine of the mass were actually changed into the body and blood of Christ. This idea had been implicit in earlier time, and had been announced vaguely in the East by John of Damascus, but it was Paschasius Radbert, a monk of Corbie in France, who formulated the doctrine—though he did not give it its name—and published it for the benefit of the public. His book aroused opposition from Ratramnus of the same monastery and from Rabanus Maurus, a prominent

churchman, who maintained the doctrine of a spiritual presence. In the twelfth century the crude conception of the mass was opposed by Berengar, but the Fourth Lateran Council gave official sanction to the doctrine of transubstantiation.

The theory that the whole body of Christ was in the bread and that the wine was changed into the blood of Christ and so was very precious gave a pretext for restricting its use to the clergy. Though the law of the Church recognized the full rights of the laity the custom of withholding the cup from the laity became general. As early as the seventh century the custom known as the adoration of the sacrament was in vogue among the Greeks, and had been coming into use for two centuries in the West. Much later it became officially ordered by the pope. The priest held aloft the host, as the consecrated bread was called, and the people prostrated themselves. Similarly when the host was carried through the streets to a sick person, the people in their houses or on the streets prostrated themselves. In the thirteenth century the feast of Corpus Christi was introduced by papal ordinance as a special celebration of the mystery of the mass. All these customs are evidences of the attempt to overawe the people and make them value highly the sacrament of the mass.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. How far were the causes of Roman decline economic and how far social and moral? Why did not political organization save the empire?
2. Compare the Germans with the North American Indians in their stage of culture, their organization, and their relations to civilization.
3. Sketch the progress of the Goths in their conquest of Roman provinces.
4. Compare German immigration with European immigration into America in penetration and in the fusion of peoples.
5. How was it that the Church came out of the anarchy better than other social institutions?
6. Why is Gregory I numbered among the notable popes?
7. How large was the problem of Christianizing Europe?
8. Compare the work of Augustine the missionary with that of Boniface.
9. In what ways was the penitential system adapted to medieval times?
10. Explain the structure and theory of the sacramental system.

For class discussion and debate

1. In what ways did the Church gain from the German invasions?
2. What are the resemblances and differences between the German migrations and the European migrations into the United States?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. Who were the Huns?
2. The religion of the Germans.
3. Theodoric the Ostrogoth.
4. Gregorian music.

For longer written essays

1. Salvaging civilization in the time of Theodoric.
2. The *Dialogues* of Gregory I.
3. The relations of Charlemagne and the Church.
4. The Salic Law of the Franks as compared with the Code of Justinian.

For conference and examination

1. Sources for the study of medieval missions.

For maps and tables

1. A map to show the Roman frontier and the German migrations.
2. A map of medieval missions.

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BEDE. History of Anglo-Saxon Christianity
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of Columbanus

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- GIBBON. Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire
BURY. The Later Roman Empire
BURY. Life of St. Patrick
DILL. Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire
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CHAPTER XI

THE CHURCH OF THE DARK AGES

THE FRANKS AND THE CHURCH

OF all the German tribes none became so prominently connected with the Roman Catholic Church as the Franks. Numbers of them crossed the Rhine from Germany into Gaul, defeated the Romans at Soissons, and brought other German tribes under their control. They were pagans when they migrated, but they were converted to the Athanasian form of Christianity, and for that reason were more in harmony with the Western Church than most of the other German tribes. The Franks did not destroy the Roman civilization in Gaul, and the blending of the two peoples resulted without great friction.

The Franks built up a kingdom similar to the governments of Goths, Vandals and others. Under Merovingian princes their fortunes declined. Primitive traits of drunkenness, murder, and general lawlessness proved difficult to eradicate. The Franks in Gaul did not always remain at peace with those who were east of the Rhine. But by the eighth century a Carolingian line of nobles brought about a better order. Charles Martel united all Frankland, both east and west of the Rhine, under his own leadership, pushed back other tribes which threatened the border, and in the crisis of the fortunes of western Europe, defeated the invading Mohammedans in 732 at Tours. In order to reward those who had followed his banner Charles seized lands which were held by the Church and distributed them to the nobles. This high-handed action was characteristic of that age, but the Church had provoked antagonism and robbery by neglecting to pay its dues to the government for the lands which it held. The chroniclers, who were clergymen, were therefore prejudiced against the Duke, but he was without any doubt an able prince, and though never king by title he ruled well over the Frankish people.

Pepin, the son and successor of Charles Martel, held the government together and helped to reform the Church in his dominions.

He restored much of the property which his father had taken away. He had to fight restless tribes on the frontiers, but he was able to take on an added burden in behalf of the Church. The patrimony of the papacy in Italy was threatened by the Lombards, who were rulers of northern Italy. The pope had appealed to Charles Martel without avail, but Pepin went to his aid, gained victory over the Lombards, and gave some of their land to the pope. This marks the beginning of the temporal power of the papacy in 755, a sovereignty which lasted for a thousand years. Three years earlier Pepin had taken the title of king of the Franks with the consent of the pope.

Charlemagne, son of Pepin, was the most illustrious prince of the Carolingian family. Pepin had consolidated his realm and made himself popular, and Charlemagne was able to build on a solid foundation. The reign of Charlemagne is the watershed of the history of the five hundred years between 500 and 1000 A.D. Many historians make it mark the close of ancient history. He conquered the Lombard kingdom in Italy, made friends with the pope, pushed back wandering tribes on the eastern frontier of Germany, overcame the restless Saxons after many campaigns, took the Bavarians into camp, and in the year 800 went to Rome and was crowned by the pope as Roman Emperor. Hitherto no one had attempted to restore the old imperial government. The Germans had been content to own a vague obligation to the emperor at Constantinople. But the idea of the Western Empire was not lost. It remained as an ideal of an ambitious prince, and when the golden crown rested on the head of Charlemagne he could feel that at last had culminated the onward march of his people and that the fusion with the old civilization was complete. Charlemagne remained friendly to the head of the Church in Rome, but in his own dominions he held Frankish assemblies which legislated for Church as well as for State; he denounced the veneration of images, which both the pope and an Eastern council sanctioned; he regulated the activities of the clergy and tried them for heresy; and he appointed to church offices. Finally Charlemagne was patron of the first revival of learning in medieval Europe. But he failed to establish a permanent empire for the times were out of joint.

MISSIONS TO SCANDINAVIANS AND SLAVS

Before the death of Charlemagne a second race migration beat on the shores of France and England. As the Germans had swarmed

five hundred years earlier, so Norsemen from the Scandinavian peninsula made piratical excursions up the French rivers, seized the district in the north afterwards called Normandy, and wrested eastern England from the Saxon king, Alfred. Other adventurers pushed southeast from Sweden and in Russia founded a royal line in the ninth century. The monk Ansgar went to Denmark and Sweden as a missionary and with diocesan headquarters at Hamburg he was apostolic vicar of the pope in all Scandinavia. But the progress of Christianity was slow. In Norway King Olaf Triggvason was baptized by a hermit, did his best through a short reign to convert his people, often by force, and sent missionaries to Iceland and thence to Greenland. Greenland had a bishop in the tenth century. In the twelfth century Swedish missionaries went into Finland, and each of the three Scandinavian countries had its own bishop. In becoming Christians the Norsemen did not lose all of their adventurous spirit, but they came into peaceful relations with continental Europe, and subsequently formed part of the trading system of the Hanseatic League.

East of the imperial domain of Charlemagne, beyond the Saxons and Bavarians whom he had subdued, the Slavs were advancing. They played a rôle in eastern Europe comparable to that of the Germans in the West. What are now eastern Prussia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Austria, were then occupied by the Wends, the people of the prairie. In the sixth century they had pushed on the heels of the Goths and other outlying tribes into the lands south of the Danube, leaving the Serbians as a deposit, and had pushed west even beyond the river Elbe, leaving the Czechs, Poles, and Slovaks as a second deposit. On the southwest the Slovenians worked toward the Adriatic and settled on both sides of the Danube. Later they were divided by the Hungarians and mixed with the Bulgarians, both Asiatic tribes of another race than the Slav. This Slavic invasion greatly modified provincial government and culture in the outlying provinces of the Eastern Empire. Constantinople remained with its neighboring lands the last stronghold of Roman civilization against the Slavs on the north and Saracens on the east and south, in much the same situation as Turkish Constantinople and its environs in recent decades. Charlemagne struggled against the Wends who threatened to paganize central Europe, beat them back across the border, and organized buffer "marks" as frontier defenses. Austria was the eastern mark, others were districts of defense against

the Norsemen. The Bulgarians were forced to accept Christianity in the ninth century by their king, Boris. During the same period Cyril and Methodius, Christian missionaries from Constantinople, became teachers of the Moravians, and by degrees the Christian religion won its way among the Slavs.

As the Norsemen had appropriated the northern edge of France, so the Saracens cut off the fringes of Italy. In their progress along the northern coast of Africa they had occupied Tunis, and there, following the example of the Carthaginians, they took to the sea with the prospect of further conquest. Piratically minded, they fell upon the islands of the Mediterranean, fought the fleet of Charlemagne, and though checked for a time, persisted after his death until they had subjugated Sicily. Then they moved on to conquests on the mainland. Factional strife in Italy made it easy for them to appropriate southern cities, and they swept northward over the peninsula with fire and sword, as Goths and Lombards had done before them. They established themselves in southern France and even held the southern passes over the Alps. This Mohammedan invasion of southern Europe was another reminder after Tours of the possibility of the extension of the empire of the Prophet farther than it had yet gone to North Africa and Spain. The Mohammedan danger to western Europe did not end until the Turks were driven back from Vienna late in the seventeenth century.

FEUDALISM

Political weakness and ecclesiastical corruption characterized much of the ninth and tenth centuries. The papacy declined in prestige. Kings had little real authority. The men who bore arms were the dictators of affairs. Each ruled over his own district, which might be no more than a landed estate of a few hundred acres, and he was often at odds with his neighbors. Local warfare was almost continuous, and nobles built strong castles to live in that they might be well fortified against their enemies. Besides internal anarchy the northern Vikings, the Corsairs, and the Slavs, were harassing the coasts and river valleys and threatening the existence of civilization. Under such circumstances it became necessary to devise new methods for security. The feudalism which resulted was a social arrangement based on land tenure and the interdependent relationship of lord and vassal, and framed to protect life and property by recognizing the power of the lord and his duty to protect his vassals, and

the obligation of the vassal to support his lord by labor or fighting. Every person from king to serf contributed to the common good that which was his to give. In theory the King of France, for example, owned all the land of the country, but he granted portions of it for use to his great lords, and they in turn subdivided it to their vassals, and so on in a descending scale down to workers whose duty was service. It was a rude sort of social barter.

Feudalism fitted into the unsettled condition of Europe for a few centuries until the nations could gain self-consciousness and solidarity. It never worked exactly according to theory, but it prevented anarchy, and while lawlessness and oppression were common and any development of civilization was handicapped, the system benefited every class from king to serf. It decayed at last when something better was ready to take its place. The growth of strong governments made it unnecessary, the rise of cities with the transfer of handicrafts from the manor to the town, the invention of gunpowder which made the serf equal to the knight on the field of battle, above all the birth of a new spirit of modernism which augured a renaissance of law and order and appreciation of their values, these all hastened its passing. Yet feudalism survived long in central and eastern Europe in such an institution as serfdom and in the local independence of such small states as made up the older German Empire.

Feudalism affected the theory of both State and Church. Kings claimed overlordship over vassal lords of various grades. The pope at Rome was the overlord of the clergy. Feudalism was a system of ideas as well as of social control.

THE COMMON PEOPLE

The mind of the ordinary man was entirely undeveloped. He was a creature of tradition and prejudice, superstitious and credulous, and stubborn in his beliefs. His information was confined to his daily occupation. If he was a handicraftsman, working as baker, carpenter, shoemaker or tailor, he was little more intelligent regarding matters outside his trade than the toiler in the fields. Agriculture was of the crudest sort, and the large majority of workers were agricultural peasants. Outside of the narrow circle of his daily interests the peasant was a learner from the priest. That functionary got the passing news as it touched the village and made it public, but there was no newspaper or book or moving picture for the medieval

worker, and his contacts with people of the outside world were almost entirely lacking.

The farmer had a rough and ready knowledge of nature, for he lived out-of-doors. He believed that the weather was affected by the stars, and that human fortunes might be told by astrology. He had a body of farmers' lore by which he was guided in his daily schedule. He ate what he could get and if he fell ill he depended on crazy medicines to cure him. He had Biblical authority for his belief in a world hung between firmaments and thronging with demons and other invisible perils. He believed the strange tales of travelers about mythical persons and events in distant parts of the earth. He knew what a dragon was, the greatest of serpents, and he had heard tales of four or five dragons fastening their tails together, rearing their crested heads, and sallying forth by river and sea to get food. Even the lord of the villa was ignorant and superstitious.

So much of mystery there is in the natural world that anything of that sort might be true and anything might happen. The future world was beyond understanding, but it was both dreaded and dreadful. It was difficult to tell whether God or the Devil was worse. Perhaps the Devil was the more real. Against these terrors a man took what precaution he could, according to the instruction of the priests who understood these things better than he did. Religion was the best life insurance both for this world and the next.

GROWTH OF THE PARISH SYSTEM

While Christianity started with Jesus in Galilee, its earliest centers of organization were in the cities. The bishops had their sees in the cities and bishops of the largest cities had the most prestige. When Christianity was carried into the rural regions of Europe as the centuries passed, monks were the usual missionary agents and monasteries were established as religious centers. But since the normal social organization was by villages it was natural that the church should become a village institution and every church should have its priest, who would be under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese in which the church was located, except as the local lay patron could have his own way in nominating and influencing the clergyman. The system of parishes was in vogue in France in the sixth century; three centuries later it was worked out in England. Tithes were required of the people for the priest's support and there were incomes from landed estates.

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR PRIESTS

Though the people who worshiped in the rural parish churches were poor and ignorant and could not understand much, if any, of the religious exercises, they were devout in attitude and they went home from church confident that they had done their duty and life was the more secure. Their religious outlook was bounded by a desire for six feet of earth in the churchyard and security for a place in a better world than this when the drab experiences of present existence were over. They never thought of doubting the authority of the Church or the orthodoxy of its creeds, which they repeated without understanding. Yet they had their diversions even on Sunday. After mass a wandering peddler sometimes arrived and displayed his wares in the churchyard, and brought the news of the vicinity. In default of any special excitement the people gossiped, or the priest announced the latest happenings as he had learned them. Once evensong was over the young people enjoyed holiday games and dancing, even in the churchyard, though that seemed sacrilege to the priest.

MEDIEVAL WORSHIP

After the sixth century it was customary in the West to celebrate mass daily, but Sunday worship was more elaborate. As the manner of life became settled and every parish had its church and priest, three regular services of worship were held. Matins preceded mass, and evensong came in midafternoon. The people were guided in their worship by mass books, that they might learn when to participate in the prayers and responses.

Emphasis on the mass as the essential part of worship subordinated the sermon, and the ignorance of the priests contributed to its neglect. Homilies in exposition of the Bible were used by some of the priests, but in many cases they were so ignorant that they could hardly conduct worship. Others were so little esteemed by their parishioners because of their immoralities that their sermons would have been ineffective. Before the coming of the friars in the thirteenth century the monks were the best preachers, discoursing to their fellows in the cloisters and sometimes to the people who came to hear them. Two treatises were published on the art of preaching. One of them advertised to teach "a way of promptly producing a sermon for any set of men and for all variety of circumstances." Preachers were urged to be brief and practical, as often since. They

were accustomed to make frequent Biblical allusions but they rarely used the Old Testament for popular edification. The illustrations were homely, keyed to the understanding of the audience, and were the more effective for that reason. The sermon was frequently dramatic in character. Sermons on hell were dramatic in the extreme. It was by undiluted language that the medieval preacher struck terror into the hearts of lawless men, and besides the sermons were the penalties of penance and even excommunication.

Other parts of the service included hymns and prayers, the reading of a selection from Scripture, and the recital of the creed.

THE MUSIC OF THE CHURCH

The playing of the organ and the singing of hymns added variety and pleasure to the service of worship, and stirred the imaginations of the people. Gregorian music was used in the leading centers, and in Charlemagne's time church music was cultivated in the schools. Original hymns were written by poets of the period, and the rhythm of their lines added to the musical effect. Sequences, or series of musical sentences frequently repeated, supplemented the singing of hymns, and Charlemagne encouraged all the people to take part. Soon after his time rude verses in the German tongue made this easier than when Latin was required, but the people liked the sound of the Latin. Several organs were introduced into the churches, but singing was unaccompanied by the organ, even when the unison chant gave way to chorus singing after the time of Hucbald, a musically minded monk of France.

The Eastern Church had its flourishing period of hymn writing between 650 and 820, when John of Damascus gave to Christendom the "Day of Resurrection" and Stephen the Sabaite wrote "Art thou weary, art thou laden?" The classical era in the Roman Catholic Church was from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. Somewhat earlier Bede wrote an ascension hymn and Peter Damiani a dirge on the day of death. Rabanus Maurus was a hymn writer as well as a preacher, theologian, and churchman. In the twelfth century Bernard of Clairvaux wrote the familiar hymns, "Jesus, the very thought of thee," and "Jesus, thou joy of loving hearts"; and another, Bernard of Cluny, left to posterity, "Brief life is here our portion" and "Jerusalem the golden," both parts of a single long poem, *The Contempt of the World*. The most famous hymn of the Middle Ages was "*Dies Irae*," by Thomas of Celano. Its triple

rhyme, repeated in short Latin lines, and the grandeur of its theme combined to produce an effect of solemnity and awe upon the congregations.

RELIGIOUS DRAMA

In the simple, unsophisticated life of days that had no radios, cinemas, or illustrated press, the moralities and mystery plays made a vivid impression upon the minds of the people. The forms of Catholic worship lent themselves to dramatic representation. The procession, the waving censers with their smoking incense, the genuflexions of the people, above all the elevation of the host above the kneeling congregation, were moving pictures of religion. From these to picturing Biblical scenes was an easy step, and useful because the people in that way best understood the Bible. Christmas and Easter plays were the earliest attempts by clerical actors to review the scenes of Bethlehem and Gethsemane. They flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The clergy wrote the plays and for a time they were displayed inside the church buildings. At a later time stages were erected out-of-doors, and the people gathered in crowds to witness the spectacle. In France these plays were called mysteries, but in England they were known as miracle plays. Subsequent to their transference out-of-doors legendary tales were added to Biblical subjects. These moralities, as they were called, were invented in France. They were allegorical impersonations of abstract virtues. Pope Innocent III forbade members of the clergy to take part in this secularized form of the drama, and lay actors succeeded them. From that time the plays began to reflect social life and to satirize the Church or the schoolmen. In the Reformation the drama became one of the weapons used against the Catholic Church.

WESTERN MONASTICISM

The Benedictine monastery was the most conspicuous social institution of rural Europe in the Middle Ages. Monasteries were planted thickly over the country, often in the most unpromising locations. Religious though they were in their purpose and constitution, they were hives of industry, as a consequence of the emphasis on work in the rule of Benedict of Nursia. The earlier monks were mostly peasants, but nobles who had renounced their worldly position labored in agriculture and the manual arts. The monks were under the discipline of the abbot. The hours of the day were

scheduled for regular exercises in worship, study and toil. Not less than six hours were given to labor and two to reading. The amount of food and the kind of clothing was determined for each monk. The cloister in which he walked and studied, the dormitory where he slept, the library where the ink of the copyist sometimes froze, the chapel where he said his prayers, were often chill and comfortless, and his life seems irksome and sad, yet the monks were better off than most of the people of their time. Membership in the order was voluntary, monks had no anxiety about the necessities of life, their exercise and regular hours kept them healthy, and most of them had the satisfaction of a good conscience.

Though based on an unsocial principle of solitary asceticism, monasticism became one of the most effective social institutions of the age. Designed as schools of prayer and meditation, monasteries became workshops and fountains of energy and factories of skilled labor. Under their roofs were schools, hospitals, guest rooms, and all the machinery of a large hotel. They were the agricultural experiment stations of their time. They were social settlements in the welter of semibarbarism. Planted sometimes in thinly populated woodland or among the broad fens which stretched across such a country as eastern England, each monastery formed a social world by itself and produced nearly all that was needed for home consumption. Sometimes the plant of a single monastery covered a considerable number of acres and housed several hundred persons. The quarters of the monks included dormitory, refectory, library, infirmary, guest rooms and schoolroom, and near by were brewery and bakery, workshops for various handicrafts, sheds and barns for the farm animals, poultry houses, kitchen garden, and burying ground. Much of the time of the monk was spent in the cloister when he was not at worship or in the field or the workshop.

As agriculture was the chief industry of the Middle Ages and farm products were needed in large amount for the inmates of the monastery, farming formed an important industry. Benedict of Nursia enjoined manual labor for four or five hours a day, and it was greatly to the advantage of the physical and moral health of the monks for them to share in the toil of the field. Monasteries sometimes started with poor land, either from choice or necessity, but they soon developed valuable farms. Forests were cleared, marshes drained, arid land irrigated, dykes and bridges constructed, and new roads built. Certain monasteries became noted for excellence in

irrigation or for their high-grade cattle and sheep. Forestry was a subject of study and conservation a science where there was need of preserving natural resources. Monks straightened the river courses and dammed the streams, and made a specialty of fish culture. They imported strange plants and animals, and cultivated various fruits and grains. They had their fruit-drying establishments, their granaries and their mills. They raised their own hops and brewed their own beer, and gained a reputation for their vineyards and their wines. Free peasants settled on monastery lands, paying rent for the holdings which they used, and serfs worked for the monastery and on their own allotted strips of soil. Gradually the monasteries became centers of trade as well as production. Surplus products were distributed at markets and fairs.

Some of the monks were skilled craftsmen, and workshops occupied large space in the larger monasteries. Since persons of all kinds became monks, there was great variety of industry. There were goldsmiths and miniature painters, clockmakers and organ builders, manufacturers of church furniture and glass windows, crucifixes and baptismal fountains. Weavers of cloth, silk and tapestry plied their looms, and carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, armorers, and shoemakers, practiced their crafts. Dunstan, the reforming monk of England, was a skillful inventor at the forge. Besides the monks themselves were many persons in their service, and the manufactured output of the monastery helped to swell the stock of goods for sale at the market.

Among the most valuable products of the monastery was the literary output. The devotional character of the monastic life was more conspicuous than the intellectual, but reading and writing were a part of monastic occupation, and in the case of the larger monasteries libraries contained manuscripts and books old and new. Whenever a monastery wished to add to its collection, the usual method of acquiring it was for a monk to copy the borrowed volume, because there were no printing presses in those days. Copying therefore became a prominent task of the monks, and the scriptorium was a well-known apartment. It is to the indefatigable labor of the monks that modern scholars are indebted for copies of classical and Biblical and patristic literature. And the debt appears the greater when it is remembered that the monks put pens to parchment in rooms so cold in winter that the ink could hardly be kept from freezing.

Sometimes nuns were employed in the most delicate work of transcribing and illuminating manuscripts. Benedict recognized the work of the artist as legitimate for the inmate of the cloister, and work in mosaics, ivory-cutting, the binding and ornaments of books, engraving, were included in the list of monastic accomplishments. Monastic artists were even permitted to travel for the improvement of their skill. There were sculptors and painters, and architects of cathedrals and churches among the monks.

Some of the literary products were original. The chronicles of the monasteries, kept carefully generation after generation, were storehouses of source material for historians. Many of the entries were trivial or of strictly local interest, but among them were items of general interest and sometimes of great importance. A few monks elaborated the chronicles into volumes which almost reach the dignity of real histories.

Since literature and learning centered largely in the monastery, there was the natural place for schools, but few young people received any sort of education. They were chiefly for prospective monks. Poor boys were sometimes given an education at the expense of the monastery.

The monasteries were charitable institutions at a time when there were many poor and neither Church nor State met their needs. At certain of the monasteries hundreds and even thousands of persons were recipients of charity at the door, and an almoner was appointed to oversee the distribution. Regular pensioners were kept on the rolls, and the house was proud of the number of its beneficiaries. Needless to say, these doles tended to pauperize the lazy recipients; the frequent opportunities to work on the monastic estates were far better. It is easy to criticize the charity as unscientific, and to believe that alms were bestowed for the merit that accrued rather than for the good of the recipient, but perhaps it was better so than that the poor and the suffering should perish when there were no others to help. Because of the suppression of certain monasteries at a later time, the poor and the sick suffered keenly until the State made provision for them.

The monks studied and practiced medicine, even the nuns becoming renowned for their proficiency. They were active in the maintenance of hospitals. They visited the sick poor in their homes, and received them for treatment within their walls. Upon occasion they had regard even for the insane, who commonly were misunderstood

and uncared for. The larger monasteries had their infirmaries so placed that the sick could look out upon orchard or garden during their convalescence. Special apartments were always reserved in the monastery for strangers and pilgrims, and for brother monks on their travels. Guests of quality had special quarters, but none were turned away. Routes of pilgrimage received their direction from the presence of monasteries along the way. Because the monastic houses were the hotels of the period, they were centers for gathering and diffusing the news of the day.

Monastic institutions were an important agency in extending social democracy. The possession of property in common, the universal obligation to industry, the mingling of all sorts of persons on a common level, all contributed to democracy. They helped also to break down international prejudices. Persons from different nations met and fraternized in the monasteries; pilgrims went and came in all directions. This socialization of medieval life through the influence of monastic institutions was not the primary purpose of an institution which existed for the cultivation of the spiritual life, but it was an important by-product. At regular canonical hours, when the bell rang conveniently for the people outside as well as inside the walls, prayers were to be said in the interval between sunrise and sunset, and monks were expected to meditate on religion at other times. But quite apart from the devotions the various activities in the monastic hive and the missionary undertakings of many individual monks made monasticism one of the leading social institutions of the Middle Ages.

MONASTIC DECLINE AND REVIVAL

Unfortunately there is another side to the story. The ninth and tenth centuries furnish a lengthening record of mistakes and failures to observe the spirit if not the letter of the rules. Monasticism was founded on an incorrect principle of segregation and asceticism. Monks too often became morbid and fanatical in their efforts after holiness, or they broke rules in a fit of self-indulgence. With increasing prosperity they became wealthy and often corrupt. Monks and nuns, if true to their vows, discredited married life by their celibacy and helped to commit race suicide. Monasticism drained off the best elements in society. It created false standards of piety, fostered false pride, and restricted the influence of spiritually minded men and women.

Monastic defects resulted in a number of widespread attempts at reform. Benedict of Aniane as early as the eighth century was encouraged by the Frankish king to enforce the rules more rigidly. He is known as the second founder of French monasticism, and his work of reform extended to Germany. In Italy about the year 1000 the unorganized hermits were brought under rule, and Peter Damiani rigorously practiced asceticism and demanded it of all the clergy. A century later Duke William the Pious of Aquitaine tried to enforce the rules of Benedict, and founded a reformed monastery at Cluny in France on a somewhat different basis. This was in 910. Instead of every monastery being independent of every other the abbot of the monastery of Cluny was to have the oversight of every monastery of its kind, with its prior. This made possible a stricter discipline and the strength of unity. After three hundred years the congregation of Cluny included more than two thousand monasteries in different lands, and so great was its wealth that the mother monastery at Cluny in the thirteenth century entertained the pope and a large retinue, together with the King of France and his train, and yet was not inconvenienced. The monasteries of the Cluniac order enjoyed freedom from the control of bishops by being kept under the direct supervision of the pope. But with all their advantages the monasteries of the Cluniac system declined in virtue like the older Benedictine houses, and in the French Revolution the property of the congregation was confiscated, and the great church at Cluny, second in size to St. Peter's at Rome, was sold for one hundred thousand francs.

Toward the end of the eleventh century two other reformed orders were started. Near Grenoble in southeastern France Bruno founded a monastery in 1084, the first of the Carthusians. Stricter asceticism was the object. To that end the experiment was tried of isolating the monks in private cells where they studied, ate, and slept. They met at religious exercises, but poverty and silence were rules of the order. The whole order as well as the individual monks was limited in the ownership of land. The Carthusian order was similar to the Cluniac. In France its monasteries were called "Chartreuses," in England "charter-houses." The Carthusians were more successful than others in maintaining their standards.

Not far from Cluny a third order was founded at Cîteaux in 1098 by Robert of Molesme. Benedictine principles were kept as among the Cluniacs and the Carthusians. The Cistercian houses

were built far from cities. Labor was enjoined, and the monks must maintain asceticism strictly. In organization every monastery was independent, but the abbots of the different houses met in an annual conference at Cîteaux, over which the head of the order presided. He also had the right to visit any of the monasteries at his pleasure. While the Cistercian organization attracted a few because of its austerities, it did not prove popular, until it was revitalized by the strong personal character of Bernard of Clairvaux. Of noble family, Bernard might have had a brilliant career in the society of his time, but he chose a monastic career. Joining the Cistercian order, he presently was sent out with twelve companions to found a new monastic settlement. At Clairvaux he built up one of the most prominent of the reformed monasteries, and the white gowns of the Cistercian monks distinguished them everywhere. Bernard was stern in his discipline as an abbot, and an uncompromising defender of religion as he understood it. He opposed the rational attitude of certain schoolmen. He ardently preached against the Mohammedans at the time of the Second Crusade, and persuaded thousands to take the cross. He was the counselor of popes. Brave and pure himself, he demanded the same from others, like a prophet. In his own spiritual life he was a mystic, and certain of his hymns breathe the spirit of loyalty and affection to the Master with whom he had communed inwardly. Bernard's life remained as a legacy to his order, but a half century after his death the Cistercians suffered their decline.

It had been part of the purpose of the Cluniac reform to carry the monastic discipline over into the organization and life of the secular clergy. Attempts were made to organize more effectually the canons who had lived together in cathedral chapter-houses and in collegiate chapters in towns that had no bishops. Such a custom had been introduced by Augustine of Hippo, and canons thus organized were known in Europe as Augustinian, or Austin, canons. It proved impossible to make this reform very effective, for most of the canons were too independent and enjoyed individual shares of the church revenues, but one new order of reformed clergy proved a useful example. In a forest near Laon in France Norbert of Germany planted the monastery of the Premonstratensians about the year 1121. This new Augustinian order shortly became second in importance to the Cistercians. It modified the old principle of seclusion by attempting social service, and thus won the appreciation of

the laity and compelled an imitation of its methods. The Premonstratensians were champions of papal supremacy and advocates of local freedom from the authority of the bishops. The monasteries trained many of the secular clergy, and supplied leaders for the Church in the days of its greatest power.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. Why should Charlemagne have desired the Roman crown of empire? What was his relation to the Eastern emperor?
2. Why was the friendship between the Franks and the papacy of special value to Rome?
3. How was Christian Europe threatened from pagans on all sides?
4. How would the medieval laymen compare in intelligence with the working people of America? Why were they more religious?
5. What was the character of medieval preaching? Why was there not more of it?
6. How was the drama used for moral and religious education?
7. What were some of the contributions of the medieval monastery to scholarship?
8. Why did the monasteries decline?
9. How did the Cluniac and Carthusian organizations and methods differ from the Benedictine?
10. Explain the chapter-houses.

For class discussion or debate

1. Was feudalism of real social value, or did it delay a more efficient nationalism?
2. How should the medieval monastery be evaluated from the industrial and social standpoint?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. The coronation of Charlemagne at Rome.
2. Description of the medieval cloister.
3. The monastery at Cluny.
4. Miracle Plays.

For longer written essays

1. The true story of St. Patrick.
2. Origins of the Penitential system.
3. A character study of Bernard of Clairvaux.
4. A comparison of the rules of Benedict and those of Francis of Assisi.
5. The spirit of medieval Latin hymns.
6. The Passion Play of Oberammergau.

For conference and examination

1. A comparison of the literary contributions of the east coast monasteries of Britain with those of monasteries in the Near East.

For maps and tables

1. A map to illustrate Irish Christian missions in western Europe.
2. A list of the principal missionary enterprises, with approximate dates.

READING REFERENCES

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Secondary Guides

LAGARDE. History of the Latin Church in the Middle Ages
 HATCH. Growth of Church Institutions
 FLICK. Rise of the Medieval Church
 SERGEANT. The Franks
 DAVIS. Charlemagne
 FOAKES-JACKSON. An Introduction to the History of Christianity.
 590-1314
 COULTON. Five Centuries of Religion
 CUTTS. Parish Priests and Their People
 NEALE. Medieval Preaching
 DUFFIELD. Latin Hymns.
 WORKMAN. Evolution of the Monastic Ideal
 HANNAH. Christian Monasticism
 HARNACK. Monasticism
 MONTALEMBERT. Monks of the West
 WISHART. Monks and Monasteries
 LEA. History of Auricular Confession

CHAPTER XII

THE CHURCH MILITANT

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HIERARCHY

THE secular clergy of the Roman Catholic Church maintained the contact of the Church with the people and the higher officials guided its fortunes. The hierarchy constituted a feudal ecclesiastical system, for bishops and priests were spiritual vassals of the pope and he shaped the policies of the Church. The pope combined in himself the functions of priest, bishop and archbishop. His election was often irregular, due to local disorders or to the interference of ambitious politicians. German emperors interfered at times in Italian affairs, as when Otto the Saxon, after restoring the imperial office in 962, placed his own candidate on the pontifical chair. The papacy had shared in the general corruption, and Otto required the new pope to conduct his affairs with respect for the dignity of his office. In 1059 an attempt was made by a Lateran Council in the pope's palace to establish a constitutional basis for papal elections by creating a college of cardinals who should hold solemn conclave on the death of a pope and elect his successor. The cardinals were technically priests and deacons of the church in Rome, but they were actually prominent clergy of the whole Church, and Pope Leo IX made them representative of all the countries of western Europe. With the church officials at Rome they constituted the papal Curia, or court, which performed the administrative duties of the pope's wide domains.

The prime function of the pope was the oversight of the whole Roman Catholic Church. He was the lawgiver of the Church; papal decretals were more frequent than decrees of councils. He could abrogate other law by his special dispensations. He was supreme judge over all church courts. No archbishop could exercise authority until he had received from the pope his badge of office called the pallium, a woollen scarf. No bishop of a diocese or abbot of a monastery could regard his election as valid until it had been confirmed

by the pope. The will of the pope was announced, sometimes arrogantly, by an official legate, sent here and there as occasion might require. The large expenses of the papal establishment required many voluntary offerings from people everywhere, and large sums of money were expected from those who were appointed to office and those who carried appeals to the papal court at Rome. Besides these revenues was the regular income of the Roman diocese. With all his ecclesiastical power the pope enjoyed the powers and revenues of a political ruler over the states of the Church in Italy, after Pepin's donation of lands in the eighth century.

Second in rank in the hierarchy was the archbishop. He regulated the ecclesiastical affairs of a province and was nominally the superior of all bishops in it, but actually his powers were little more than nominal. At times a pope favored a bishop in a quarrel over authority in order to bring him directly under his own control. In certain prominent sees like Rheims in France and Canterbury in England, which had seventeen bishops in its jurisdiction, the archbishop was powerful. Then he held synods of the bishops of his province, received appeals from bishops' courts, and claimed the right to approve or veto the election of bishops.

The bishop was the overlord of all the clergy in the diocese, including the monasteries, unless the pope granted special immunity from such control. The election of a bishop was supposed to be made by clergy and people of the diocese, but the most prominent laymen were usually the determining factor. Sometimes the king or chief landholder of the region dictated the election. In the eleventh century electoral reforms committed the matter to the clergy of the bishop's own cathedral church, the principal church of the diocese, but political influence continued to be felt. Certain functions belonged peculiarly to the bishop. He alone could anoint kings, consecrate churches, and ordain priests. He alone could conduct the sacrament of confirmation, admitting new members into the Church. The bishop tried certain cases in his own court according to canon law. Sometimes he was a civil official and his social standing was on a par with the lords of the landed estates. He received his revenues from the endowments of the churches, from the lands of his diocese, and from a share of the contributions of the local churches, tithes and gifts. Out of these he must distribute to the poor and to the priests of the parishes, and must provide for

church maintenance and for his own needs and those of his immediate assistants. They lived at his headquarters in the cathedral city, and were organized as a chapter under an archdeacon as their superior.

The parish priest was the father of his village. He was often as poor as his people, for most of the parish revenues went to the bishop, and some of the priests had families, for the Roman Catholic Church did not enforce celibacy strictly. The priest represented the ecclesiastical authority of the hierarchy and gave spiritual counsel to his people. He baptized the infants, married the youth, heard confessions and granted absolution, celebrated the mass, and read the burial service for the dead. He was in close contact with the daily life of the people. If he was sympathetic, conscientious and upright, he could do great good, otherwise he might do much harm.

CHURCH COURTS AND CANON LAW

One of the strongest supports of the clergy was the system of ecclesiastical courts. From apostolic times it was an accepted principle that Christians should settle their differences in their own circles rather than resort to the law courts. As the Church became a social institution with its own interests and property, it was to its advantage to develop its own system of courts, and the civil law of the Roman Empire recognized the right of the Christian Church to do so. In the Middle Ages the legal principles of the Church were superior to those of the State, and offenders preferred to be tried in church courts rather than in civil courts. The clergy had immunity from civil trial and frequently got off more easily than they would have done under civil jurisdiction. The bishop's court was the court of principal jurisdiction in the diocese, and all the church courts had their appeal to the papal court at Rome.

The elaboration of the ecclesiastical system made necessary a body of canon law. This was developed gradually before it became embodied in a code similar to the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian. The *Didache* of the second century and the *Didascalia* of the third were tentative attempts to provide regulations for the churches. Out of them was collected the *Apostoli- Constitutions* in the fourth century, which contained in eight books a large number of liturgical, ethical and doctrinal precepts. In the fifth century an unknown editor compiled the *Apostolic Canons*. In 692 the Second Trullan

Council rejected the *Constitutions* but recognized the *Canons*, and thereafter they constituted a part of the Greek collection of canon law.

As time passed the sources of canon law multiplied. After the beginning of the fourth century the decrees of synods and councils became numerous, and from the time of Siricius, Bishop of Rome, in that century certain of the Roman bishops issued decretals in reply to questions that were asked. These decretals did not have the prestige which went with an official pronouncement issued by the pope and his counselors without a previous question or with a canon or decree passed by a council or synod, but decretals came to have the force of law. A certain set of decretals published during the pontificate of Nicholas I in the ninth century came to be regarded as of special importance. They purported to have been written out by Isidore, a prominent bishop of the seventh century at Seville in Spain. Actually they were a forgery prepared by Frankish reformers to strengthen the episcopate against the civil power, and they centralized discipline in the hands of the popes. Though they were only the Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals, they aided the ambition of the popes, and they were used effectively for several centuries before the forgery was discovered. One of the most notorious documents incorporated into the collection was the so-called Donation of Constantine, which purported to be evidence of a bequest by Constantine of the domain of Rome and Italy with the Lateran palace and all the insignia which pertained thereto to the Bishop of Rome and his successors. It was thus that the bishops claimed that the emperor "left the shepherd room." The Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals were not proved to be forgeries until the fifteenth century, but now they are so regarded by Catholics as well as Protestants.

Various unofficial codes of canon law were formulated. One was a Latin collection by Dionysius Exiguus, who is famous for introducing the Christian calendar, dating forward and backward from the birth of Christ as the central fact of history. His collection contained fifty of the Apostolic Canons, the decrees of the most important councils and synods, and the papal decretals of the fifth century. This collection was enlarged subsequently, and became the basis of canon law in the West. About fifty years later than the code of Dionysius John, a presbyter of Antioch and later patriarch of Constantinople, made a collection in Greek. It was arranged better than the Latin code and was more complete, and it received general recognition in the Eastern churches.

About the middle of the twelfth century Gratian, a monk and teacher at the law school of Bologna, issued an edition of canon law, which became accepted as the standard for the Roman Catholic Church. It contained the canons of the Church with notes on them. Supplements were made by subsequent popes until the fourteenth century, when the rapid decline of papal authority made them less necessary. The sum of the laws constitute the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, which is to the Roman Catholic Church what the *Corpus Juris Civilis* was to the Roman world of the sixth century. The latest edition of canon law was issued by papal authority in 1917, and took the place of Gratian's edition. Church law left no room for flexibility, and it helped to institutionalize the Church and make it legalistic. But it buttressed the claims of the Church to political power until a revival of the old Roman civil law enabled secular rulers to fortify their claims.

REFORMS

Among such a large number of clergy, most of them ignorant and devoid of spiritual qualifications, corrupt practices were likely to occur. Drunkenness, concubinage, graft, and ecclesiastical or political ambition were common faults among both higher and lower clergy. The tenth century was marked by the debauchery of the papacy itself. It was then that the emperor, Otto I, interfered and rescued the highest office of the Church. About the year 1000 Gerbert of France, a learned and sternly moral monk, was made pope under the title of Sylvester II. He gave new dignity to the papal office and encouraged morality and education among the clergy. Reform gained further impetus from Leo IX, who was wise in his ecclesiastical appointments, and from the Emperor Henry III, who ruled Germany with a strong hand, though against feudal opposition. He denounced graft among the clergy, and took care that good men should be appointed to bishoprics in his dominion. Within a few years he interfered at Rome to correct the intolerable abuses in the election of the popes, and in his turn dictated the choice of several popes in succession who could be depended on to carry out reform. Out of that situation came the creation of the college of cardinals to free the election of popes from outside influence. It was during his reign in Germany that the final division between the Roman and the Greek churches took place, due immediately to a quarrel of the pope with the Greek patriarch, but more remotely

to difference of outlook between East and West and such quarrels as the Filioque controversy.

POPE GREGORY VII

It was not long before ambitious popes resented the dictation of German emperors. They had made good their authority in the Church. Two centuries earlier Nicholas I was powerful enough to snub Hincmar, the ecclesiastical primate of France, by espousing the cause of a bishop against his superior. The same pope dared to assert his moral authority over a king when he demanded that the King of Lotharingia take back the wife whom he had divorced. Now in the eleventh century a pope determined to have his own will even against the Emperor of Germany, who claimed the political supremacy of Western Christendom. Hildebrand, an Italian, became pope in 1073 and commenced a pontificate of twelve years which raised the papacy to a higher position than as yet it had obtained.

Hildebrand was imbued with the spirit of Cluny, and he made it his policy to push through four ambitious reforms. The first of these was to emancipate the papacy from foreign control. Sympathetic as the Emperor Henry III was with church reform, it was irritating to have a German emperor dictating the election of the supreme head of the Church. By the time Hildebrand became pope Henry IV had succeeded his father and the ambitious pope and emperor clashed. The new pope was determined to get rid of foreign oversight, and it was the second part of his policy to free the Church as far as possible from lay dictation. Instead of kings appointing to bishoprics, as William the Conqueror had done in England and Henry III in Germany, Gregory VII insisted on the election of bishops by cathedral chapters and investiture by the Church instead of by the State. This policy provoked a long controversy between the emperor and the pope. The third purpose of Gregory was to secure two reforms among the secular clergy which he deemed most important. The first was to enforce the practice of celibacy. Many of the clergy were married, and many more had similar attachments. In the interest of good morals and loyalty to the Church rather than to family, the rule of celibacy was enforced vigorously. The other reform was an effort to check simony, or the practice of purchasing clerical office and other forms of graft. It must be admitted that it took many decades to make these reforms

effective. The fourth purpose of the pope was to make his position dominant over the sovereigns of Europe by intervening in national affairs wherever he might hope to gain an advantage.

THE INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY

Three theories were current during the later Middle Ages regarding the relations between the pope and the German emperor. One was the theory maintained at Rome that the Church was superior to the State as the soul was to the body, and that therefore the emperor had no right to interfere with the papacy. The second was the imperial theory that the State was ordained of God to protect the Church. The third was a theory that each was supreme in his own realm and should work harmoniously with the other. The third seemed impossible to achieve, and for more than a century the champions of the other two principles struggled to win a decisive victory over each other. It is not an edifying spectacle to watch popes and emperors excommunicating and deposing each other, dragging whole peoples into misfortune, and postponing the development of strong nationality, but if the papacy was to maintain its claims to temporal power and its ambition to be master of European monarchies, and if the empire was determined to rule the Church in its own territory and to govern Italy as well, conflict was inevitable.

The first act of the long drama of conflict opened two years after Hildebrand became Gregory VII. At a synod held in Rome in 1075 the pope secured the condemnation of five of Henry's counselors on the charge of simony and excommunicated them. Lay investiture was forbidden. The marriage of the clergy was denounced. Gregory was bolder in his attitude toward Henry because the emperor was in trouble with insubordinate Saxon nobles. But Henry IV retaliated promptly. He summoned a council of German bishops at Worms, at which the pope was condemned and deposed. Then Gregory retaliated by excommunicating Henry and pronouncing him deposed. These rival fulminations were without direct effect, for neither side could carry out the decision personally against the other. The success of either policy depended on whether the pope or the emperor had power to act, and especially on the loyalty of the Germans to an excommunicated king. In Germany feudal princes were so powerful that the emperor was at times little more than a figurehead, and Henry was paralyzed by lack of support.

The Church had three penalties which it held in reserve for the

most flagrant sins. These were excommunication, anathema and interdict. Excommunication was the penalty of exclusion from the Church and its sacraments, until the culprit had expiated his sin in full. In aggravated cases of heresy the Church resorted to anathema, which condemned the miscreant to eternal death besides denying him all benefit of clergy. Interdict was a ban put upon a whole community, or even nation, in which no mass could be celebrated, the altars were stripped, and no marriage could take place. Penitential prayers were required of all the people, and whatever penalties might be imposed before forgiveness would be granted and the people restored to favor. These weapons were powerful for the people dreaded the wrath of the clergy for fear of the consequences to their future happiness, and as yet the Germans did not have the national consciousness which two centuries later was to win victory for a French king in a similar quarrel with a pope.

Henry IV soon found himself without support, and he was compelled to go in submission to the pope and crave his pardon at Canossa among the snows of the Apennines. It was a dramatic turn of fortune which brought the son of that proud German king who had made popes at Rome to stand barefooted in the snow outside the castle door until Gregory had satisfied his revenge and let him in. Once absolved the emperor hurried home, raised an army and marched on Rome. The pope was aided by Normans, who had reared a strong kingdom in Sicily, but the contest proved disastrous for Pope Gregory and he died in exile. The quarrel continued until Henry V of Germany compromised with Pope Calixtus II in 1122, by which the investiture controversy was settled. It was agreed that the clergy should choose the bishop in the imperial presence, that the Church should give ecclesiastical investiture with ring and staff in token of the bishop's pastoral functions, and that the State should invest with the scepter as indicative of the civil power which many bishops possessed as landed vassals of the emperor. Thus ended the first act of the drama.

THE ISSUE OF IMPERIAL CONTROL IN ITALY

The second act of the prolonged drama was precipitated by the ambitious German emperor of the Hohenstaufen line, Frederick I, called Barbarossa. At the beginning of his reign in 1152, he challenged the hostility of the pope by declaring that he held his empire from God directly. He had troubles with his nobles, but was popular

among the people. He was ambitious to extend his rule to include the Lombard lands of Italy, and was unwise enough to attempt to subdue the flourishing cities that claimed local liberties for themselves. In defense they organized the Lombard League in 1176 and in that same year they battled to victory against the imperial forces at Legnano. This resulted in a peace made at Constance seven years later, by which the cities kept their local liberties and acknowledged a vague imperial overlordship of the emperor. During these events the papacy put all the obstacles possible in the way of the emperor's progress south of the Alps. Eventually Frederick went off on a crusade to the Near East where he lost his life, thus ending the second phase of the long conflict with Rome.

Henry VI succeeded his father in 1190. By a marriage with a Norman princess of southern Italy Henry possessed a new leverage against the pope in the center of the peninsula, and he had far-reaching plans of domination when he was cut off by death, to be succeeded by a regency in the name of his young son, Frederick II. Affairs in Germany became complicated by dynastic rivalries, in which the pope interfered. Frederick came eventually to power in southern Italy during this third phase of conflict, and planned to make the imperial claim in northern Italy, but he paid little attention to Germany. The imperial interests had passed from Germany to northern Italy and then to the south, and everywhere they conflicted with the papal policies of control. When Frederick died in 1250 there was no strong hand to measure swords with the papacy, and the rivalry virtually ended with Hohenstaufen defeat. The long-continued rivalry so disorganized and divided both Germany and Italy that neither was able to become united or prosperous.

INNOCENT III

The pope who carried the papacy to the climax of its power was Innocent III, who was pope from 1198 to 1216. Well-born, handsome, wise, trained in the law and in church administration, he had been elected before he was forty to the highest office in the gift of the Church. From the outset of his pontificate he dealt vigorously with the problems that he had to meet. As pope he was the spiritual guide of western Europe, absolute in his ecclesiastical authority over all the clergy, and temporal lord of kings and princes of every degree. His legates at various courts kept him informed of conditions there and transmitted his wishes to local and national

sovereigns. The King of Aragon took the oath of fealty to the pope as his vassal; King John of England agreed to pay him an annual tribute. He forced the powerful Philip Augustus of France to take back as his wife a Danish princess whom he had divorced. He interfered in national affairs from Portugal to Bulgaria. Not even under Gregory VII had the papacy reached such a dizzy height. Innocent was indefatigable in attending to the interests of the Church. He encouraged reference to him of all sorts of questions, whether of administration, discipline or theology. He held all the reins of government in his own hands. In the year 1215 he summoned Catholic prelates to the Fourth Lateran Council, the greatest of all such medieval gatherings. Its splendor and wide representation was an evidence of the extent of Roman Catholic power, reaching from Iceland and Greenland to Spain and Italy, and eastward by sea to Cyprus and Asia Minor. Serbia and Bulgaria joined for a time the Latin Church, and the Fourth Crusade resulted in a Latin kingdom in Constantinople and Greece. Northward to Hungary, Poland and far-away Scandinavia the rule of Innocent extended. Four hundred bishops and twice as many heads of monasteries, besides minor clergy and political ambassadors met at the papal palace. The pope had only to express his will to be obeyed.

The Council instituted certain reforms in the Church, defined the doctrine of transubstantiation, and took action against heresy, which had sprung up in southern France. The official sanction of the medieval doctrine of the mass was recorded in these words: "Jesus Christ is at once priest and sacrifice, whose body and blood are truly received in sacrament of the altar under the form of bread and wine, inasmuch as the elements are transubstantiated by the divine power into body and blood, in order for the carrying out of the mystery of unity we may receive of his that which he assumed of ours; a sacrament which only the duly ordained priest can perform." It was at this time that the adoration of the host was ordered by Pope Innocent. It was believed universally that through the sacrament the grace of God came to the recipient without any effort on his part. Neither priest nor layman need be righteous, though the Church tried to encourage right conduct. To all but a few persons the forms of religion took the place of any personal consciousness of God.

It would be difficult to understand the success of the ambitious claims of the papacy, in spite of its ability to capitalize the awe felt

for the supernatural, if it had not been that the Church stood for social control. The anarchy of the Dark Ages was still fresh in mind. Feudal lords and their lawless retainers were still breaking out into acts of depredation. Feudalism had created some sense of interdependence and the value of mutual obligation, but it was easy for the unscrupulous to disregard it. Individual freedom was not a desirable principle, and associations like monastic fraternities and universities, merchant guilds and commercial leagues, are examples of the principle of social responsibility. But all of these needed the moral support of the Church, and therefore the twelfth century was willing to put up with the sovereignty of the pope until a better authority could make good its claims. The nation was already laying the foundation of such an authority before the twelfth century was over.

THE CRUSADES

While the papacy was reaching the climax of its temporal and ecclesiastical power, another enterprise was being undertaken which was to have far-reaching consequences to the Christian people of Europe. This was the crusades. They almost paralleled the years when the drama of central Europe was being staged. At first they seemed to enhance the prestige of the Church, but in the end they were the partial means of the decline of its authority.

The crusades are significant in history as a part of the long and intermittent struggle between Asia and Europe. At Marathon, Thermopylæ and Salamis the Greeks had defended Europe against Asia, and under Alexander of Macedon had pushed victoriously into Asia, conquering as far as India. Rome had fought Carthage, a Phœnician outpost, and later had seized in a firm grip the whole of the Near East. The Arab outburst of Mohammedanism in the seventh and eighth centuries was a return wave. Mohammed set in motion an engine of popular enthusiasm and fanaticism which changed the course of history. His followers swept resistlessly to the West, extending their empire crescentlike from the environs of Constantinople to the Pyrenees.

The Mohammedans adapted to themselves the old Hellenic civilization of the Near East, established their brilliant center of Arabian culture at Bagdad on the Tigris, and carried their culture to Spain. Insisting on an acknowledgment of subjection by the peoples they conquered, they were tolerant of the Christian religion,

and they revered Jerusalem and permitted Christian pilgrimages as long as they controlled the region. But in the eleventh century the Seljuk Turks from farther east emerged from their home beyond the horizon, and with vigor wrested Palestine and Asia Minor from the Arabs and the Eastern emperor respectively. Threatened with imminent danger across the Bosphorus, the emperor at Constantinople appealed for help to Pope Urban II. The opportunity to expand papal influence prompted sympathy, and the pope aroused the West to undertake the expulsion of the Turk from the Holy Land. The response was enthusiastic, and in 1096 the enterprise was in motion, to last nearly two centuries until changing interests turned attention elsewhere.

Before the First Crusade was organized a horde of simple folk under an impulse supplied by Peter the Hermit started enthusiastically for the Holy Land only to fall victims to the journey and to the sword of the Turks before they fairly reached their objective. Another crowd of two hundred thousand went to pieces in Hungary. Under Godfrey of Bouillon a knightly army of nobles and their followers succeeded in reaching Constantinople and thence pushed on to Syrian cities, won a foothold on alien soil, and established a feudal principality, called the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and a Latin patriarchate.

A second crusade enlisted royal support in France and Germany when the Mohammedans threatened fifty years later to expel the Christians who garrisoned the country, but dissensions ruined the expeditions. A third crusade was necessary when Saladin, prince of the Saracens, wrested the Holy Sepulcher from the Christians in 1187. The kings of England, France and Germany joined in the expedition, but dissensions arose again and the best they could do was to make a truce with the Mohammedans which permitted Christians to visit the tomb of Christ and to be exempt from taxation. A fourth expedition turned aside at the instigation of Venice to plunder Constantinople, and set up a Latin Empire there which lasted nearly half a century. The thirteenth century saw the enthusiasm of the crusaders evaporate as other interests drew them in other directions. Later crusades frittered away their strength in North Africa, or made only faint attempts to recover lost territory in the Near East. In 1291 the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem ceased to exist.

The introduction of feudalism into Palestine resulted in the

organization of military orders of knighthood of a semimonastic sort. To the Hospitalers, or Knights of St. John, which had been organized earlier, were added the Templars, who had a house near the site of the Temple in Jerusalem, and the Teutonic Knights, who later distinguished themselves in a crusade against the pagan Prussians of northeastern Europe. Out of such knightly orders sprang chivalry, the flower of feudalism in Europe.

The details of the successive expeditions are of relatively small consequence. Thousands of fighting men who had quarreled locally with one another in western Europe fastened the red cross upon their garments in token of the religious character of the enterprise, made their way under the generalship of high noble or king to Syria and Palestine, fought a few battles, lived a few months in the new environment, and then if still alive returned to their western home. The loss of life on the journeys was enormous.

The military value of the crusades was to check the onset of the Turks. Later the forces of Asia were to be reënforced by the Ottoman Turks, before whom the ancient stronghold of Constantinople was to fall in 1453, and the victors were to threaten the very heart of Europe for two centuries more. The consequences of the crusades to civilization were numerous. They weakened greatly the feudal aristocracy of Europe and strengthened the power of the Church through the forfeiture of feudal lands to churches and monasteries. They brought multitudes of persons into contact with a higher civilization, gave them a liberal education, and increased their refinement. They stimulated commerce and travel, and encouraged international contacts. They liberalized minds that moved in the ancient grooves of tradition and paved the way for the discovery of Greek literature. They broadened the horizons of thought, and once men had begun to think they began to ask questions which boded ill for traditional authority. The crusades helped to release the intellect of western Europe. Their best result was the education that came from foreign travel. The people of western Europe had lacked the stimulus of many schools and they lived in local isolation. It is reasonable to suppose that the crusades drew men from every village of the West, and their influence was as pervasive as that of the European immigration to the United States in the nineteenth century. The crusades did not make Europe modern, but they quickened forces that were breaking down medievalism and made Europeans less provincial than they had been before.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. Who were the cardinals? Why were they needed? Appraise them.
2. Is it proper to speak of the pope as the ecclesiastical overlord? Explain.
3. In what respect did the bishop have privileges and functions beyond those of the priest?
4. How was canon law developed? Was it well for society that there should be two systems of courts? Compare federal versus state courts in America.
5. How would you evaluate the reforms of Gregory VII?
6. Which side had the better claim in the investiture controversy? Why?
7. Compare Frederick Barbarossa and the Lombard League as representative of two kinds of social control. Which was the better for that time and why?
8. How do the career of Innocent III and the meeting of the Lateran Council show that the Catholic Church was at that time the most powerful institution in Europe?
9. Compare the crusades with the Moslem movement. Which was the more successful, which the more destructive, morally and socially?
10. What were the effects of the crusades?

For class discussion or debate

1. Would the consequences have been better for central Europe if the emperor rather than the pope had won the long contest for supremacy?
2. What were the most important of the consequences of the crusades?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes of oral reports

1. Description of the scene at Canossa.
2. Donation of Constantine.
3. The Archdeacon.
4. The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

For longer written reports

1. Abuses of the ecclesiastical courts.
2. The parish priest and the confessional.
3. The interdict.
4. Character study of Hildebrand.

For conference and examination

1. Comparison of eastern and western monasticism.

For maps and tables

1. A map to show the crusading expeditions.
2. A map of Germany and Italy to illustrate the conflict of the emperor and the pope.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE AWAKENING OF THE MODERN MIND

EDUCATION

As the American pioneer to the West could begin to feel that he had conquered the frontier before the nineteenth century was ended, so the civilizers of central and western Europe could feel that the worst days of confusion were over with the eleventh century. After the year 1100 the marks of a new period became visible. An economic surplus began to accumulate on monastic and manorial estates and trade revived. The middle class in the towns began to awaken. Commerce was stimulated by the wider movements of people, especially by the crusades. Schools and universities were gaining a reputation and new ideas and literatures developed. Building enterprise coupled with an appreciation of religion produced noble cathedrals, enriched by the sculptor's art and by stained-glass windows. The Church marched on to victory over kings and emperors, and was acknowledged as the arbiter of human destiny here and hereafter.

Few schools had survived beyond the fifth century and those mainly in Italy. Few of the priests had any learning. They repeated the Latin words in hymn or prayer without understanding much of their meaning. From time to time a bishop of a better sort tried to give elementary instruction to his clerics, or an abbot found a place in a monastery where a few boys could be taught the rudiments of clerical learning, but until Charlemagne's time those attempts were few. Charlemagne established a school in his palace that the sons of his nobles might be taught a modicum of knowledge, but as soon as he was dead they threw aside books with a sigh of relief. Learning flourished in English monasteries. Of these was Jarrow, where the Venerable Bede wrote his history of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and Lindisfarne, with its beautifully illuminated manuscript of the Gospels. Canterbury had the earliest cathedral school in England, and at York was another which flourished in the ninth century.

Thence went Alcuin to be master of Charlemagne's palace school. But King Alfred lamented the general ignorance of his people, and did his best to give them a few translations into English of worthwhile ancient books.

Across the Channel Tours, Cluny, Paris, and Bec in Normandy, became well known for their monastery schools, while cathedral schools for the training of the secular clergy were attached to the churches at Chartres, Orleans, Rheims, Lyons and elsewhere. In Germany were Fulda, the monastery of Boniface, and St. Gall, founded by a missionary of Irish Christianity. The greatest scholar in Germany was Rabanus Maurus, an able preacher, a hymn writer, an eminent theologian, and a compiler of an encyclopedia of knowledge. In the ninth century he was abbot of the monastery of Fulda, with twenty-two lesser monasteries in his jurisdiction, and he exercised his wide control for forty years.

TRANSMITTERS OF CULTURE

The breakdown of ancient civilization had carried with it three important consequences to the people of the Middle Ages. It placed most of them in small rural hamlets which had very little economic relations with outside people. It destroyed almost entirely any link with the thought of the past, except as the Church transmitted its own traditions. And it provided almost no schools for the cultivation of thought of any kind. The few men of education made their contribution by transmitting fragments of the past, or by putting into systematic form the canons or dogmas of the Church.

Two men of the early medieval period made the largest contribution from the past. Boethius (c. 480-524), was prominent at the court of Theodoric the Ostrogoth. He wrote certain books of his own, notably *The Consolation of Philosophy*, which though pagan in character served as a comfort to those who were in distress of mind through the restless centuries which followed his life. But his greatest service was in translating the logic of Aristotle, which thus became the guide to intellectual effort for several centuries, and in organizing the curriculum of the few medieval schools. Cassiodorus (c. 490-585), was eminent in the civil service of Theodoric. He collected and preserved many ancient manuscripts, and after withdrawing into monastic retirement in old age he introduced the practice of copying and annotating ancient manuscripts. He did what he could to arouse the Christian clergy to an interest in learning,

and he prepared textbooks on the sciences and other subjects of study. He was exceptional in his time in maintaining the value of pagan literature, though himself a Christian. Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636), compiled the learning of the past in a series of books. He tried to simplify the ancient knowledge for a more ignorant age and to adjust it to Christian teaching, and he wrote abstracts from the Fathers. As archbishop in Seville he founded a school for the training of the clergy in Spain.

INDEPENDENT THINKERS

With the low intellectual standards which prevailed it was only the exceptional individual who ventured to do any thinking for himself, and the schools were scarcely annoyed by heresy. One generation passed after another while the people on the feudal estates lived little better than the animals. Monks repeated their scheduled prayers in the cloisters and dozed over their manuscripts or pots of beer. Men at arms picked quarrels with one another when they were not idling or sleeping off the effects of a carousal. Among them all superstition and ignorance prevented thought and in its place produced all the paraphernalia of relics and images and crosses and the veneration of the Virgin and the saints. Against these a few voices, Claudius, Bishop of Turin, and Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, protested in vain.

An occasional thinker in a monastery stirred a ripple on the surface of Catholic thought. Such a disturber of ecclesiastical complacency was Gottschalk, a monk in France in the ninth century. He taught not only that God predestined certain persons to be saved but all others to be lost. This was shocking to conventional theologians, not because it made God responsible for human fault or because it limited the power of Christ's atonement, but because it made the priest and the sacrament of minor importance and so struck at the foundation of the Catholic system. For that reason Rabanus Maurus vigorously opposed Gottschalk, and at a synod held at Mayence secured his condemnation and turned him over for punishment to Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, in whose jurisdiction he belonged. The rash monk was scourged and shut up in a monastery for the rest of his life.

Among those who opposed Gottschalk was John Scotus Erigena, an Irishman at the court of Charles the Bald, grandson of Charlemagne. His opposition to double predestination was not in the

interest of conserving the importance of the priest, but on philosophical grounds. He maintained the doctrine that God and man are both free, and that all punishment for wrong choices is not by any specific will of God but is in the inner human experience alone. This modern conception was to a good Catholic as dangerous as Gottschalk's ideas, and at two French synods Erigena was as promptly condemned for his "Scot's porridge" as Gottschalk had been. John Scotus Erigena also was a factor of intellectual disturbance by pantheistic writings. He was so far out of reach speculatively that nobody would notice his flight above the orthodox level until the noise of his theological motor made people look up to watch his aërial evolutions. In particular he translated the mystical writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, who had a powerful influence over the mind of the Western Church in John's time, and over later medieval mystics, as in the monastery of St. Victor in Paris. These writings were supposed to be authentic Greek productions, but a Syrian origin seemed more likely after their lack of genuineness was exposed in the fifteenth century. But it was their Eastern transcendentalism that cast a spell over minds steeped in Latin conceptions of religion, and the writings of Dionysius were debated in the highest intellectual circles of the West.

ANSELM'S DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT

The principal contribution to Christian thought which was made between 500 and 1200 was Anselm's doctrine of the atonement of Christ. That subject so prominent in Protestantism was of minor interest in the earlier Catholic centuries. In the Greek East the fact of the incarnation was of supreme interest. In the West Augustine's emphasis on the divine will and on the part of the Church in salvation left the actual achievement of human salvation by Christ relatively unimportant. The common conception of the atonement was that the death of Jesus served as a ransom to free man from his bondage to Satan. Although this was not universally held, no other satisfactory interpretation was offered. It remained for Anselm, primate of the English church about 1100, to work out a theory in harmony with feudal ideas. This he did in a time of enforced leisure when he had fallen out with the king and spent some time in retirement in the Norman monastery of Bec. His theory was that man had dishonored his Lord by his disobedience, and God demanded satisfaction which man was unable to give. Man must therefore

die and suffer the penalties for his sin unless someone else could pay the debt. This Christ was able to do because he was both man and God, and could more than pay any human debt by his excess of merit. The stress put on his sufferings harmonized with the monastic ideal of the Middle Ages. The emphasis of Anselm on Christ's part in the atonement did not lessen the importance of the Church as the clearing house for the transaction, and the Church therefore had no quarrel with Anselm. His theory of the atonement gained general acceptance.

THE SHACKLES OF THOUGHT

Learning was handicapped throughout the Middle Ages by the set of mind in favor of the authority of ecclesiastical tradition. A permanent set of ideas was supported by medieval institutions, and no individual might rationalize independently. In spite of the lack of strong government it was an age when the individual had no rights. He was bound up in the group, lost in the general social mass, and as he had no social or political rights, so he was without intellectual or spiritual rights, independent of his ecclesiastical mentor, the Church. The System, which had smothered the free spirit of Jesus from the time when the Jews attempted to crush it and the Roman State took over the task, held minds that were insubordinate in the vise of its control. It distrusted the ability of most men to do any real thinking and it feared the effect of independent mentality on its own authority. The authority of tradition, of law, and of the hierarchy, was so powerful that few dared to oppose it. If they wanted to think they must think on the treadmill of abstract ideas; they could not wander in the uncharted fields of natural phenomena, or trust reason to correct faith. They were under the tyranny of the closed mind.

ABELARD, THE FREETHINKER

Peter Abelard was a brilliant exception. Born in Brittany about 1080, of noble family, he left his home to become a wandering scholar. Of keen and eager mind, he loved to debate questions of philosophy by means of the dialectical method of Aristotle's logic, which was used in intellectual circles. In those days young men frequently went in quest of teachers wherever they might find them, and as soon as Abelard began to give instruction at Paris his fame traveled so rapidly that hundreds of eager students flocked to his

lecture room. It was the freshness as well as the vigor of Abelard's mind which attracted them. He was so restive under the authority imposed by the Church that he attempted to undermine it by insisting that reason was the ultimate authority. He raised troublesome questions, presented arguments on both sides, and invited his students to draw their own conclusions. In a Latin book entitled *Sic et Non* he ventured to raise questions about the fundamentals of theology, such as, Is God one or not? Is He the author of evil or not? and, Are the flesh and blood of Christ actually present in the sacrament of the mass? Abelard was a very disturbing force, for he aroused doubt in many minds, and presently he was forced to recant his teachings. Though he continued to think for himself, he could not any longer express his opinions freely, and he found dismal occupation in a monastic cloister against his will.

MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE

For a century after the free thinking of Abelard scholars knew almost nothing of Aristotle's thought aside from his logic. They had no conception of scientific method as a means of exact knowledge. Their ideas of the physical universe were extremely crude. The cosmos was conceived of as surrounding the earth in concentric areas of air, ether and fire, which contained the heavenly bodies. Above all was heaven and below all hell. Matching this macrocosm was the microcosm of humanity in the center of creation.

From the time of Anselm the medieval mind began to awake, and for three centuries Scholasticism commanded the interest of intellectual circles. It originated in the lay schools which were springing up in the centers of trade. It was stimulated by an increased knowledge of the philosophy and science of Aristotle, which became known at Paris through avenues of intellectual commerce from the Arabian schools of Spain. For the next century the Church was suspicious of the great Greek philosopher, but it could not stem the tide of his popularity.

The Schoolmen have been called the first of the modernists because they submitted their theology to the test of reason. For a while they tried to prove their faith by their reason, but they found that impossible in its entirety. In the tenth century Thomas Aquinas made the distinction between natural religion, which reason approves, and revealed religion, which only insight and faith can grasp. At last the Schoolmen had to assert the independence of every thinking

mind and let it shift for itself or else fall back on ecclesiastical authority. They did not all agree in their opinions and there was much discussion which did not prove constructive, but it was evident that thought was not stagnant. The Schoolmen started out innocently enough with an accepted dogma, but in the process of reasoning about it they sometimes raised questions that were troublesome. Clergy who became Schoolmen were suspected by the Church, yet they were only trying to understand the Christian teaching that had been handed down from the ancient Church and to justify it by their reason. Even Thomas Aquinas did not escape the charge of introducing dangerous doctrines, though he became the accepted master of Catholic theology. They did not intend to overstep the bounds of authority, but Scholasticism marks the beginning of the modern tendency toward critical thought directed toward even the most sacred themes of Christian and class tradition. In the end it became as dogmatic as ancient tradition, and the word has come to stand for obscurantism. But Scholasticism is not to be dismissed lightly as useless whetting of wits, a discussion of barren issues. It was symptomatic of discontent with the static condition of thought, a hint of the advent of rational discussion and scientific discovery.

Abelard's teaching precipitated the problems of Scholasticism. After the rediscovery of Aristotle about the year 1200 Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, the leading Schoolmen of their time, translated and edited Aristotle's works and these with the writings of Augustine became the intellectual authority of the age. Albert, the "universal doctor," was the first of the Schoolmen to use the whole of the Aristotelian philosophy, and he wrote numerous commentaries. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) was the greatest master of all the Schoolmen. An Italian of princely descent and educated at Monte Cassino, Naples, and Paris, he was qualified to write and to teach. He recognized two sources of knowledge, the Bible and apostolic tradition on the one hand and the reason of Plato and Aristotle on the other. He believed that both came from God and therefore they must agree, but it was only by the avenue of faith that one could really know God. He clarified the discussions of the time by insisting that the fields of reason and of faith must be kept distinct, and it was his belief that the Christian religion depended on an outward revelation of the spiritual sphere. His purpose was to find the inner meaning of life and its experiences. He was not interested in scientific origins and laws, but in the use of

the things of life and their relations to the things of eternity. His method was to accept dogma as a starting point and argue between the different authorities, using reason as far as he could go. The allegorical method of interpreting the Bible and tradition permitted considerable freedom of interpretation.

Thomas Aquinas built into his theological system the best thought of East and West. The philosophy of Aristotle, the mysticism of the pseudo-Dionysius, and the Latin theology of Augustine, all were synthesized. He correlated and pruned the opinions of Augustine, and restored the authority of that master which had been waning because of some of its inconsistencies. Thomas Aquinas made a monumental contribution to Christian learning in his *Summa Theologiæ*, a summary of theological discipline. Peter the Lombard, a teacher of theology at Paris, had outlined Catholic theology in a *Book of Sentences*, which discussed the Trinity, the creation, the incarnation, the sacraments, and the last things. It was a simple treatment of Augustinian thought, and for centuries it remained the medieval textbook of theology. The *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas became not only the storehouse of doctrine for that age, but was commended by Pope Leo XIII in the nineteenth century as sufficient for Catholics through all time. Thomas Aquinas may well be considered the greatest thinker of the Roman Catholic Church, but his system is threatened by the scientific conclusions of modern time.

MEDIEVAL SCIENCE

The kingdom of nature was an almost unexplored country to the medieval man. His imagination peopled the earth with the bizarre creatures of the fancy. He had in his mind a conventional picture of a flat earth created by divine fiat in six days, around which moved the heavenly bodies. He had faith in signs and wonders, and in the most fanciful explanations of physical phenomena. The occult and the magical intrigued him. Miracles were everyday occurrences. The Devil and evil spirits were always lurking near.

The physics of Aristotle introduced the student to a more orderly system of nature. The Schoolmen learned mathematics and the use of an Arabic notation, which was far less cumbersome than the old Roman numerals. Astronomical knowledge came from Spain, and Thomas Aquinas and others accepted the Ptolemaic interpretation of the arrangement of the heavenly bodies. To them the earth remained the center of the universe, and Jerusalem was regarded as

the center of the earth. Below in nether regions lay hell, with its variety of dread punishments as pictured by Dante. The laws of nature were almost unknown. Roger Bacon, an Englishman of the thirteenth century, was an exceptional investigator, but he could do little without proper instruments. He was impatient with Aristotle and wished that he could burn the bad translations of his works. He declared that Aristotle had only planted the tree of knowledge, and no one really knew enough to describe a single fly. He recommended observation and experiment as a means of acquiring information, and made certain discoveries and inventions before the ecclesiastical authorities clapped him into prison. It was easier to believe in occult powers and the transformations of alchemy than patiently to study and experiment with things as they were. Yet discoveries were being made and inventions worked out. The properties of lenses became known sufficiently to make eyeglasses and presently telescopes; new industrial methods were tried out; gunpowder and the mariner's compass were on the eve of revolutionizing warfare and voyaging. But when Roger Bacon argued that science and philosophy could be useful to the Church, he was regarded as foolish, and religion and science found it impossible to agree whenever science taught anything really new.

The philosophical discussions of the Schoolmen, however well conducted they might be, were disturbing factors. A perennial subject of debate was as to the reality of universals. Was there any such thing as a group of men or an institution like the Church, or were there only the individuals who made up the group or the institution? If the conception of the general was a figment of the mind what would become of the Church, its sacraments and its ideals? The realism that was held by most of the Schoolmen, which meant that there was reality in the "universal," was acceptable to the Church, but the nominalism, which was championed by William of Occam, and which emphasized the individual, was dangerous to theology and to the whole medieval system of overhead social control. Abelard maintained a mediating idea, that while there was no reality to the universal it was implicit in the individual, but such a compromise did not satisfy.

THE CATHOLIC THEOLOGY

On the eve of the insurgent period that led to the Reformation the Catholic theology, the queen of the sciences, stood scholastically

outlined and rigid as a statue in its essential features. The unity and transcendence of God, the creation of the world by Him and His miraculous interference when needed, the fall of man in Adam and the dislocation of the human order as a consequence, the grace of God mediated by Holy Church, and the power of the sacraments to cleanse and nourish the life of man, without which purgatory and the fires of hell awaited him at last, these were the stock of ideas which the Church maintained by its authority and bequeathed without much change to the Protestant reformers. In the interpretation of these dogmas the giants of intellect differed somewhat, and the Church allowed them to debate. Duns Scotus, a teacher at Oxford and Paris, regarded God as a volitional energy, while Thomas Aquinas considered him as the ultimate reality back of a divine will in the universe. To Duns religion was obedience to the ascertained will of God. He narrowed the sphere of reason more than did Thomas. In twelve volumes he criticized the rational basis of faith. He had the worst faults of the pedantic Schoolmen and students tired of his hair-splitting arguments. William of Occam, who was the champion of nominalism, denied that any of the doctrines of the Church could be demonstrated by reason, and he also opposed the extreme claims of the papacy. His writings were condemned by the Church and the University of Paris. Theological unity therefore was not absolute, but in the fundamentals they agreed and these were the essentials of orthodoxy.

THE UNIVERSITIES

As the minds of men became restless over such questions as the Schoolmen propounded they began to come together for the discussion of them. In that way sprang up the universities. The university was a term that did not have its present significance. It was neither an educational institution nor a collection of buildings. The first university was a guild of students at Bologna, organized for the protection of the students from the local townspeople. Later it came to include all the students there. At Paris, where a number of teachers set up a school of dialectic, they formed a university organization which became a model for later universities. Even then it was only a guild. Few persons were so independent in the twelfth century as to attempt anything alone, but in association.

Some of the universities were an outgrowth of monastic schools, others an enlargement of lay schools. Still a third class, specially

founded, was the result of the new intellectual impulse of the age. A great teacher like Abelard drew about himself thousands of eager scholars, and where they gathered other teachers set up their classrooms. So universities came into existence and were authorized and regulated by State or Church. At first there was no system or discipline, no formality. But recognition of both students and teachers became necessary, and for purposes of regulation a system of degrees became organized. Then the universities attained to permanency by supplying buildings and libraries through public or private munificence. Though the universities embodied current philosophy and theology, some of them became nurseries of progressive thought. Most of them became stabilized as conservators of Scholasticism. Out of the universities came all the great reformers, and whatever their attitude toward progressivism they were nurseries of intellectualism.

Among contributing causes was an appetite for travel and for knowledge. Students of various nationalities swarmed at Paris for instruction in theology or the arts, at Bologna for the law, at Salerno for medicine. The growth of the University of Paris is an example of the educational process. The increasing number of teachers could not find room to teach in the cathedral. Then the chancellor who had power to license teachers, gave them permission to teach on the bridge leading from the Ile de France, the site of Notre Dame cathedral, on the other side of the river. At Oxford individual benefactors founded colleges with buildings constructed around a quadrangle, all under the ægis of the university. Most of the students lived in halls or inns until sufficient dormitories were available. At times they came into conflict with townspeople, and riots occurred between town and gown. The students were not under local control, but under the authority of the university, and even the pope was glad to protect them.

The leading textbooks studied were the Bible and the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. The method in use was the scholastic method of building up arguments according to the rules of dialectic. Examinations were given as tests of proficiency and led to degrees. When students tired of one professor or one locality, they were at liberty to emigrate, and sometimes whole nationalities resident at a university moved elsewhere. Even such a migration as this did not weaken a university which had thousands of students. They lived crowded together in dirty, often unpleasant quarters. They had little to amuse

them except fighting. Life at its best was uncomfortable in those days. In the university lecture rooms students sat on backless benches. The windows had no glass, but oiled paper admitted a dim light when the shutters were open. Yet under the most uncomfortable conditions they listened from six o'clock before breakfast to discussions of abstract subjects which sometimes lasted for three hours. But life was by no means drab. Every day had its recreations, and in the evening students roamed abroad. Their jovial songs full of the joy and freedom of life were pagan in spirit and in language. A church council in 1289 tried to curb the jollity of student singers, but it required more than a church council to suppress the spirits of youth.

University contacts, often international, were mentally broadening, and while they marred some lives they were the making of others. They were the chief intellectual factor of the later Middle Ages, setting the fashion of thought. Sometimes they became hotbeds of free thinking. It is significant that the great names of progressive leaders are associated with the universities, like Wycliffe at Oxford, Huss at Prague, Luther at Wittenberg, Calvin at Geneva, and Wesley at Oxford.

MEDIEVAL ART

Imagination has been as potent as more reasoned thinking in the development of religion. The ancient Christians may have been deficient in originality, but they adapted classic figures and buildings to religious use, and employed art and music to enrich their worship. In the catacombs they attempted rude designs of their own. They were familiar with symbolism in religion, and they found it easy to interpret literature allegorically.

The German invasions swept away most of the artistic productions of the West, and it required centuries for those uncultured folk to discover artistic values. Byzantine art and architecture survived in parts of Italy, particularly at Ravenna, the center of the Justinian régime, and in the East they had full opportunity of development. Churches were decorated with glass mosaics against a blue or gold background, as in the Church of St. Mark's at Venice, but that custom declined after the tenth century because native artists were trying out fresco painting, which permitted the artist more freedom. The buildings themselves preserved the style of the Roman basilica in Italy, or less seldom of the domed form characteristic of the old Roman baths.

The growing divorce of Eastern and Western Christianity and the affiliation of the Church with the governments of northern Europe brought about a change in the forms of church architecture. There was a disposition to disregard traditions and to build with a freer hand. In southern France and in the Rhine valley the Romanesque style of architecture appeared in beautiful cathedrals with their rounded arches and towers, massive walls, lofty columns, and cruciform ground plan. As "Norman" architecture, the Romanesque style was carried to England, where several of the great cathedrals show its characteristics. In Germany the sculpture of the period was farthest advanced.

The Romanesque style of architecture flourished in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and then gave way to the Gothic. That style originated in north central France and spread widely, as the prestige of France grew at the expense of Germany, prevailing everywhere until about the year 1500. The name Gothic was given by Italians who rather scorned a foreign product, but it has none of the crudeness which the name might imply. The splendor of the Gothic churches, as represented by the cathedrals of Cologne and Milan, is indicative of the increasing wealth of the people and of their interest in religion. The Gothic structures were distinguished by pointed arches, thinner walls, and larger windows, in which stained glass softened the rays of light. As everybody belonged to the Catholic churches, so everybody contributed to the great expense of building, and the process of construction and adornment often extended over several centuries. The people took pride in the beauty of their church, and craftsmen of all kinds delighted to contribute their workmanship to its adornment. Richly carved pulpits and choir screens, altar pieces which were masterpieces of painting, images in niches along the walls, statues, sometimes grotesque, at every point of vantage on walls or roof or porch, added to the glory and fame of rival cathedrals. Each country had its own distinctive variations of the prevailing style.

In the midst of the dignity and splendor the medieval folk lifted their minds above the sordid surroundings of home and village and daily toil to contemplation of that other world of the spirit which they could not understand, but of which their priests told them. The lofty pillars, the dim light percolating through the stained windows, the frescoes on the walls, the seductive music and incense, contributed to lull the senses, broaden the vision, and bring their human souls

into tune with the mystical and the ideal. Touched by emotion, they were intrigued by the mystery of the mass and believed themselves purified by divine grace. Thus cleansed they went out under the spell of religion, back to the drab, hard life of the manor or the narrow workshop strengthened and fortified against the evils that lurked about them.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. What are the evidences of social change in Europe after 1100? Which of these was the most significant for the future?
2. Who were Boethius and Cassiodorus?
3. What were the consequences of the breakdown of ancient civilization, and where were the seed-plots of later education?
4. What evidences are there of independent thinking? What was Anselm's theory of the atonement?
5. How did medieval philosophy and science differ from to-day's?
6. How do you estimate Scholasticism? Give reasons.
7. Explain the importance of Thomas Aquinas.
8. What was the substance of Catholic theology? How far does it differ from fundamentalism and from modernism?
9. What were the causes of university growth? Comment on university methods and standards.
10. What are the characteristics of medieval architecture?

For class discussion and debate

1. How far was medieval theology Augustinian?
2. The comparative merits of the Anselmic and Grotian theories of the atonement.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. Chartres as an educational center.
2. University requirements for the theological degree.

For longer written essays

1. The palace school of Charlemagne.
2. A character study of Abelard.
3. The culture of Spain.
4. Student life at the University of Oxford.

For conference and examination

1. A history of the principal theories of the atonement.

For maps and tables

1. An ecclesiastical map of medieval France.
2. A list of the most important schools and universities.

READING REFERENCES

Sources

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 BEDE. History of the Anglo-Saxon Church
 DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE. Mystical Theology
 THOMAS AQUINAS. Summa Theologiæ
 MIGNE. Patrologia Latina
 BOETHIUS. Consolation of Philosophy

Secondary Guides

- WORKMAN. Christian Thought to the Reformation
 ——— Foundation of Modern Religion
 RANDALL. Making of the Modern Mind
 TAYLOR. The Mediæval Mind
 WELCH. Anselm and His Work
 MCCABE. Peter Abelard
 WULF. History of Mediæval Philosophy
 ADAMS. Chartres and St. Michel
 HASKINS. The Rise of the Universities
 ——— Renaissance of the Twelfth Century
 PORTER. Mediæval Architecture
 LETHEBY. Mediæval Art
 JONES. Studies in Mystical Religion
 CRUMP and JACOB. The Legacy of the Middle Ages
 MUNRO and SELLERY. Mediæval Religion
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 THORNDIKE. History of Magic and Experimental Science

CHAPTER XIV

THE RISE OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

THE SPIRIT OF MODERNISM

THE close of the thirteenth century brought to an end two conflicts which had engaged western Europe. The first was between Church and State, the second between Christianity and Mohammedanism. Many events during the two centuries of strife had indicated the beginning of a new epoch, but that did not become apparent until the effects of the crusades began to appear. Even now at the close of the thirteenth century there was little consciousness that the world was becoming different. The noble who went forth from his castle to hunt man or beast; the peasant who toiled in the field; or the monk at his prayers or books, were not aware of any appreciable change. If they had philosophized at all over history they would have said: "For two centuries the history of Europe has been a history of strife between papacy and empire for political prestige, and the pope has won; and a history of crusading hosts struggling for the mastery of the Holy Land of Christianity, and Christianity has lost." What they could not see was that an unseen force had entered into both of these long conflicts, had helped to determine both, and was able to seize for itself the mastery of the historical movement.

That force was the spirit of modernism as compared with the spirit of medievalism. Hitherto society had been static; the spirit of the times had been conservative. Ever since the breaking up of the old empire and the continued disorder which had ensued, an attempt had been made to bolster up the authority of the medieval empire and the medieval Church. These two institutions henceforth ceased to command the universal respect which had been given them. Instead of the traditionalism which had ruled every department of life there was a new spirit of progress appearing in politics, in industry, in religion, in scientific and theological thought. The nineteenth century has stressed individual freedom as a human right and *laissez faire*

as a sound social principle. The Middle Ages are marked by solidarity and authority in society. Between the two lies a period of struggle to win freedom, social, political and religious. The thirteenth century is alive with a new consciousness.

The thirteenth century was one of the creative periods of history. Religion was enriched and ennobled by art, music, and the construction of cathedrals. Education was quickened by the activity of monastic and cathedral schools and the establishment of universities. Philosophy received an impetus from the Aristotelian importations from Spain. Political unrest threatened the supremacy of popes and kings, and social change was finding new opportunities in the towns and cities. Thomas Aquinas attempted a synthesis of the best thought of his times in philosophy and theology, and Dante was on the way to his synthesis of imagination and desire.

Up to the twelfth century only two classes of the people counted for anything in European society, the feudal lords and the clergy. Medieval history is for the most part a story of the fighting class and its relation to the praying class. The workers toiled on manorial and monastic estates while lords fought and clergy prayed. They were for the most part serfs, bound to the estate on which they labored, oppressed by their lords and by the Church, hopeless of improving their condition, living a treadmill life from the cradle to the grave. There was a town life, but for centuries it was of small consequence compared with the open country dotted with feudal estates. Populous cities came only with the rise of manufacturing and commerce. The twelfth century saw the beginning of the changes.

LIFE ON THE RURAL ESTATES

The manorial village of a few houses lay sprawling along one or more unimproved lanes. A small stream meandered through neighboring meadows. Near the center of the village was the parish church and the house of the priest. The village was unkempt and dirty in appearance, with no provision for drainage or sanitation. The house of the serf was of the rudest construction, one-roomed without windows or chimney. A bunch of straw served for the bed of the family, and a single garment covered their nakedness by night or day. Scanty rations of black bread and home-brewed beer kept them alive, with slight addition from the farm. As William Langland wrote:

I have no penny, quoth Piers, pullets to buy,
Neither geese nor pigs, but two green cheeses,
And a few curds and cream, and an unleavened cake,
And a loaf of bean bread and bran baked for my children.
And I say, by my soul, I have no salt bacon,
Nor no lean fowls' collops to make,
But I have leeks and parsley and many cabbage plants,
And eke a cow and a calf and a cart mare
To draw afield the dung while the drought lasteth.
By this livelihood must I live till Lammas time.
By that I hope to have harvest in my croft,
Then may I dight thy dinner as thee best liketh.

By the sweat of his brow the peasant wrung a meager subsistence from the few acres allotted to him for his use. He had only a little stock of undersized cattle which he kept under his own roof or in an adjoining shed, and his tools were of the rudest sort. Half of his time he must work without wages on the lands of the lord of the manor. Under such circumstances he remained a stolid machine without thought or ambition until a spark touched his brain and kindled his imagination. That spark was dropped by a wandering peddler or minstrel who passed through the village one evening, and casually told of a market that had sprung up a few miles away where a farmer might sell a bit of his produce for money. Resolving this in his thick head, the serf thought that one of the village yokels might do that some day, but it took several days to dream of it for himself. And some day the dream came true. Then the serf took the coin that he received to the lord and purchased the privilege of more land or liberty to work for himself and by-and-by he bought his freedom. Craftsmen on the estate sometimes received permission to go to the town to work; sometimes a serf or an artisan ran away, and if he was not caught within a year and a day the law gave him his freedom. Such was the emancipation of a rural serf.

THE LOT OF THE FREE MAN

The transition from serfdom to freedom was of little real gain until the beginning of the wages system. The free man, still a peasant and living in the manorial village, was exempt from the burden of unrequited toil, but he had a fixed rent or percentage of his crops to pay, and numerous taxes. Besides those the lord could seize horses and wagons for a journey or command their use for the

repair of roads and bridges. The poor peasant might on occasion have to risk his life for the lord's defense, if military exigency required. When the lord was done with him the clergy flayed the peasant. There was the regular tithe, a ten per cent tax upon the products of agriculture, and numerous were the special occasions when the Church demanded fees for its service. Last of all the peasant was subject to extraordinary demands from the suzerain-in-chief for money or service.

The social changes that were taking place were both cause and effect of social unrest. As the fortunes of some improved, the less fortunate became the more discontented. The shift from serfdom to the wage system, the payment of unaccustomed taxes often made heavy by long warfare, oppression of the workers who were now becoming self-conscious, and finally as a last straw the pestilence of the Black Death, which upset the economic system in many localities, provoked insurrections. Late in the fourteenth century the peasants in England were poor to the point of starvation.

In France the peasants suffered from the English armies which were devastating the country during the course of the Hundred Years' War, and because their lords had failed to protect them, but required the same dues as before, they broke out into insurrection in 1358. The Jacquerie, as it was called, was soon crushed and the oppressors were more severe than ever. In England the Peasants' Revolt came in 1381. Various events were adding to the smoldering discontent. A crazy priest named John Ball was preaching a communistic socialism, and John Wycliffe and his Poor Priests were denouncing evils in the Church and so unsettling the minds of the people. The rebellion was threatening to the peace of the nation, but it was settled without serious results to the existing order. It had the effect of bringing an end to serfdom in England before long. During the same century the Swiss peasants rose against their Austrian lords, and with the help of some of the city-states won their independence. The Church except for the local priests championed the cause of the existing order, when they paid any attention to the unrest, and church property sometimes suffered from the enraged peasants. In England during the uprising an archbishop of Canterbury was killed. The Bishop of Norwich took the lead in the defense of the city against an insurgent attack. Monasteries were an object of hatred because serfs were held on their lands, and the records of serfdom were kept there. Abbots were among the forces of con-

servatism. Uprisings of the oppressed continued at intervals in central Europe until they culminated in the Peasants' War of the sixteenth century.

RISE OF THE CITIES

From the thirteenth century trade and even international commerce increased rapidly. People moved about more, and the crusades had stimulated natural wants. Trade routes up and down the Rhine, back and forth between the Baltic and the Adriatic, and between the East and the West, brought prosperity to the merchants. Trading centers grew into thriving cities. That modern movement from country to town which has brought together producer and consumer in huge centers of population, industry and trade, had then its beginnings. Handicraftsmen found their way hither from the rural manors. They fashioned the products of their arts and sold them in their wayside shops, or merchants bought their products and disposed of them through a wider area with other goods that they had purchased. Both artisans and merchants organized their guilds, or associations, for their protection and their advancement. Together merchants and artisans built up a city life and often a civic freedom which were magnets to draw in other people. Cities leagued together for foreign trade, as in the Lombard and Hanseatic leagues. The age of business had begun.

The mere establishment of a town did not give it many privileges. In many instances the lord of the manor opposed it. As a rule, however, the greater lords encouraged the growth of the towns because of the added wealth which they might share. Permission granted to artisans to ply their trade did not relieve them of the obligations which as serfs they owed to their lord. But with the increase of money it became possible for the townsmen to satisfy the lord with cash payments, and it was practicable also for the lord to tax the townsmen freely. The townsmen were as completely under the control of the lord as if they were at work daily in the field, and often it happened that the whole city was on the land of the lord, and so owed him rents. These circumstances resulted either in the purchase of city charters from the lord or a struggle in which the citizens wrested the power away from the lord and compelled a charter grant. For this reason and because of frequent interurban strife, the mediæval cities were protected by strong walls, pierced with gates through which the people entered, and guarded by towers with their sentries.

The people lived crowded together in houses whose two stories overhung the narrow unsanitary streets. Churches and guildhalls and a few residences of prosperous burghers were the conspicuous buildings. Most of the people lived poor, squalid, ignorant lives, little if any better off in their slums than the country folk on the farms. Many of the cities possessed large cathedrals. Priests and members of monastic orders were frequent figures on the streets.

The clergy and the townspeople were often at odds. The Church usually was opposed to the granting of privileges to the towns. Bishops tried to enforce taxation. Churches and monasteries were sometimes attacked and the clergy put to the sword. At several places in France the clergy were boycotted, the burghers agreeing not to sell them anything that they might starve them. In 1213 a synod at Paris denounced "those associations which usurers and exactors have built up in almost every city, town, and village of France, commonly called communes, which have established diabolical usages tending to overthrow the jurisdiction of the Church."

It is difficult to find evidence of spiritual religion among the laity of the age. Townsmen attended mass for the good of their souls and paid penance when necessary. They were superstitiously fearful of unseen powers. They went on pilgrimage often enough to keep the highways well trodden in the later Middle Ages. But there was little love for the Church, and small understanding of the reality of the spiritual. The fatherhood of God was lost in His transcendence; even Christ was far away. The Holy Spirit they knew not. The saints and the Virgin and martyrs' bones were the only real things to them. They knew nothing of divine fellowship or of helpful Christian conference. They could not read the Bible if they had it. They had little edifying preaching. The standards of lay religion were low.

COMMERCIAL LEAGUES

The importance of a town increased when it was on one of the routes of international trade. The crusades stimulated trade with the East and enriched the cities of northern Italy which controlled the carrying trade with the Near East. Transcontinental commerce was carried on between the Mediterranean and the cities of the North, and they made large exchanges of goods among themselves from all directions. The commercial cities had no strong national governments for their protection from robbers and pirates, and were therefore

compelled to form associations for mutual defense. The Lombard League in northern Italy was the first, composed of sixteen independent cities, powerful enough to measure swords against the empire of Germany. It was in these thriving Italian cities, particularly Florence, that the Renaissance of the fifteenth century found its earliest home. Fifty towns of southern Germany organized the Confederation of the Rhine for the defense of their liberties against the nobles, and for a time seemed likely to become as important in the German Diet as the Third Estate in France or the House of Commons in England. The Hanseatic League included eighty towns of northern Germany, a merger about the year 1300 of smaller associations organized for a similar purpose. Steering clear of politics, able to defend and finance itself, it was for a century one of the powers of Europe. The Hansa flag floated over nearly every merchant ship of the northern seas and over every important counting house from London to Novgorod. It had its trade depots in England, Holland, Norway and Sweden. It owned fisheries and mines like a modern coöperative. At its trading posts furs and hides from Russia, grain from Poland, amber from the Baltic, metals from Saxony, cloths from Holland, wool and tin from England, and wines from France, met and exchanged with the products of the South and the East. But by the close of the Middle Ages the League had ceased to function widely. Expenses were large, dissensions arose, competition over new trade routes altered commercial conditions, and above all the rest was the rise of strong national governments which impeded the freedom of the League and made the protection of its flag no longer necessary.

The expansion of commerce encouraged banking, which was mainly in the hands of Italians. In spite of the laws of the Church against usury the bankers prospered from their loans, and were agents of the popes in the transmission of money to Rome.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE TOWNS TO CIVILIZATION

The services of the towns to the progress of civilization were many. They presented industry in a more favorable light than on the rural estates. Manufacturing and trade became honorable at a time when the aristocracy of society was nonproducing and despised the worker. The business house from that time began to overshadow the castle and the church. The standard of living was raised, as markets provided a greater variety of goods and exchange became

easier with the increase of money. Country people were drifting continually into the cities and sharing in their benefits.

The cities fostered liberty and culture. They obtained charters which granted them liberties unknown before. They marked the rise of the Third Estate to a position of importance in Europe, and so planted the germs of democratic government and republican institutions. Education flourished in cities where prosperous merchants craved the best of privileges for their children, and young people had leisure to go to school. In the cities of Italy sprang up a revival of classical art and literature. Cities often contained gems of architecture in their guildhalls and churches. The new spirit of modernism was to bring prosperity, culture, and freedom to city people first.

THE RISE OF NATIONALISM

The intellectual, social, and industrial revivals were accompanied by a political awakening. The lack of strong central units of government had been a serious handicap to peace and political efficiency. The chaotic conditions of society consequent upon the downfall of the Roman Empire, the exercise of social control by feudal lords who sometimes were more powerful than kings, and the lack of liquid funds to finance extensive government, prevented the development of the modern nation. As it was, every lord was able to carry on warfare against another if he saw fit, and every city could be aggressive or draw within its own walls in splendid isolation, if it preferred. National governments if they existed, were overshadowed by the medieval empire and the medieval Church, whose ambitions contemplated universal dominion. Obviously Germany and Italy could not create real nations. France and England were the first to consolidate into national units, but England was required to pay national tribute to the papacy for a century and a half, and the masterful Philip Augustus of France had to submit to the moral dictation of Pope Innocent III. That sovereign had made the Christian princes of Portugal and Spain his vassals, and the Scandinavians and many of the Slavs looked to him as the source of temporal as well as spiritual authority.

The political awakening came with a national insurgence against the temporal authority of the papacy. It was the arrogance of the papacy consequent upon its unrivaled power which brought about the revolt of France and England from political overlordship. Abuse of patronage was common. On one pretext or another the pope had

assumed the right to appoint bishops, and not a few of the incumbents of sees spent church revenues in their residences on the Tiber without troubling themselves to visit the dioceses to which they had been appointed. The Church used various means to squeeze money from the people in order to prosecute the conflict with the empire, to finance a crusade, or to meet the current expenses of the Curia. Papal legates provoked popular indignation in different quarters because of their arrogance and greed. No open opposition broke out until near the close of the thirteenth century, but the national spirit was stirring already.

FRANCE

Late in the tenth century feudal France began to crystallize about Paris as a center. The royal domain, which was very small at first, was extended by war and purchase, lawless vassals were brought into partial submission, civil administration was centralized and made more efficient, and bishops and monasteries were made measurably dependent on the king, all within two centuries. Philip Augustus (1180-1223) was a bold, capable man, but an unscrupulous sovereign, who through a reign of more than forty years united the national administration, developed a system of courts and a bureaucracy, made the use of his coinage obligatory, maintained a standing army instead of depending on feudal levies, and doubled his revenue and the extent of his royal domain. But he was unfortunate to run counter to the most powerful of the popes, and he could not be as masterful toward the Church as his inclinations would lead him to be. But already France had led in monastic reform and in the development of university education, and Philip himself was one of the leaders of the crusades.

Late in the thirteenth century France and England found themselves at war and pinched for money. The Church in each country claimed immunity from taxation, though it had extensive lands in both. When the kings ventured to demand money from the clergy, the pope thundered his anger in bulls of denunciation and assertion of ecclesiastical authority. The King of France, Philip the Fair, made the quarrel a national issue and rallied the people about himself by inviting representatives of the Third Estate to sit with nobles and clergy in the French parliament. Presently French emissaries went to Rome to tell Boniface VIII in person that he was no longer the overlord of France. The real issue in dispute between the French king and the pope was larger than the question of taxation. In it

was involved the whole question whether a civil state had any jurisdiction over the Church within its own territory. In the process of nationalization must all organizations be subordinated to the national government or could the Church, the most powerful of all organizations within the state, remain apart immune from taxation and court jurisdiction and free from political control, owning allegiance to a foreign sovereign whose will and purpose ran counter to the best interests of the nation?

ENGLAND

King John of England had been worsted in a contest with Pope Innocent III, when the pope insisted on appointing his candidate to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. From that time England had paid an annual tribute to Rome. But King Edward I dared to demand a contribution from the clergy to supply the sinews of war against France. The English Parliament plucked up courage by-and-by to legislate against the political jurisdiction of the pope, and in 1366 England refused to pay the papal tribute any longer. The English Government was made bold in its hostility because the popes were under the influence of France. When a French bishop was elected pope at the death of Boniface VIII, he took up his residence at Avignon, a papal possession on the French border, and France had a dominant influence on papal elections. The election of the popes by the cardinals since 1059 had made it possible for kings to pull ecclesiastical wires and sometimes to control papal elections. Subserviency to France after 1309 did not please England, and Parliament passed a series of laws condemning papal appointments of clergy to England and any appeal of judicial cases to Rome. It was possible to secure the support of the nation, because representatives of the people had been summoned to sit in Parliament as early as 1265.

Even Germany stirred again. In spite of rival claimants to the throne the old contest with the papacy was renewed, for Germany was not friendly to French popes. The pope tried to play off one aspirant against another, and it was pygmy strife compared with the herculean efforts of Gregory VII and Henry IV of Germany. Yet the hostility to the papacy continued until in 1338 at a meeting of the German electors it was declared that the emperor, not the pope, was divinely ordained to rule Germany, and this declaration was sustained by the German Diet. The nations were in revolt.

The political cause gained from the writings on political science of Marsiglio, a canon of Padua in Italy, who wrote a pamphlet called *Defensor Pacis*, in support of Louis of Bavaria, one of the contestants for the empire. In it he set forth the rights of the State against the Church, basing his principles upon Aristotle's *Politics*. He declared that the civil power possessed functions with which the spiritual authority had no concern. It was the duty of the priestly class "to teach and discipline men in things, which, according to the Gospel, ought to be believed, done, or omitted to obtain eternal salvation." The pope of Rome was only a priest. Peter could confer no authority upon the bishops of Rome that the other apostles did not possess, and indeed the claim of Peter's being Bishop of Rome rested on no historical evidence. Christ exercised no coercive jurisdiction. For the pope to attempt to dictate elections, whether secular or ecclesiastical, is an assumption of authority that breaks up all ecclesiastical order and tends to corruption and worldliness. All people should assist in ending such presumptuous claims, and if there was any doubt to look for guidance to a general council of the Church rather than to the pope.

Such an exposition as this had a strong influence on medieval thinking. It did not save Louis from his fate. But it presented a conception of secular sovereignty which was to become accepted in Europe, and it aided the spirit of insurgency that was rife in other departments of life. Among the rest it led people to think of the advisability of getting the advice of a general council when the pope was troublesome.

The fourteenth century went far to create in Europe that spirit of nationalism which has become so powerful. French territory was consolidated. England with the loss of its continental possessions developed a feeling of insularity. The days of the Tudors and the Bourbons, with their absolute monarchy and national ambitions, had not yet come, but nationalism had arrived, and national prosperity and progress had begun.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. What factors contributed to the change from medievalism to modernism, and what were the essential differences?
2. How did rural life differ from that of to-day?
3. Compare the method of taxation then and now. What part did the Church have in it?

4. What were provoking causes of the social uprisings? Compare them with the Peasants' War in Germany in 1524-5.
5. Why should town life have developed as it did? How does it compare with the nineteenth-century drift to the towns in America? Would it affect religion in the city?
6. Compare the commercial leagues with modern business organizations. Could they be called leagues of nations? In what way may they have contributed to religious unrest?
7. Why were national revolts from papal political control successful when the German emperors had failed in their efforts a century earlier?
8. What were the causes of political discontent?
9. Why was Marsiglio important?
10. What are the advantages and disadvantages of nationalism?

For class discussion and debate

1. How far did the nationalist movement benefit the common people?
2. Resolved, that the lay schools were of greater value to education than the monastic schools.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. The Hanseatic League.
2. William Langland.
3. The manorial responsibilities of a serf.

For longer written essays

1. The political philosophy of Marsiglio of Padua.
2. Papal revenues in the time of Innocent III.
3. The Church in the Peasants' Revolt in England.
4. Merchant guilds.
5. Parliamentary action compared with papal power in England about 1350.

For conference and examination

1. The effect of the rise of commerce on the later medieval Church.

For maps or tables

1. A map to show the regions affected by social uprisings.
2. A map to show the activities of the Hanseatic League.

READING REFERENCES

Sources

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 LANGLAND. *The Vision of Piers Plowman*
 ROBINSON. *Readings in European History*
 THATCHER and MCNEAL. *A Source Book for Mediæval History*

Secondary Guides

- POWER. Mediæval People
COULTON. The Mediæval Village
BENSON. Life in a Mediæval City
DAVIS. Life on a Mediæval Barony
GIRY and REVILLE. Mediæval Towns
GROSS. The Gild Merchant
DAY. History of Commerce
INGRAM. History of Slavery and Serfdom
GREENE. Short History of the English People
ADAMS. Growth of the French Nation
HENDERSON. Short History of Germany
PIRENNE. Mediæval Cities
THOMPSON. Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages
-

CHAPTER XV

RELIGIOUS DISCONTENT

INSURGENCY AGAINST THE CATHOLIC SYSTEM

SOCIAL and political unrest had its counterpart in various kinds of religious insurgency. The earliest of these was an antiecclesiastical demonstration by several men in France, Italy, and the Netherlands. Peter of Bruys was a Catholic priest and a pupil of Abelard. Early in the twelfth century he was preaching against the trappings of religion which seemed to him without value. He wished to abolish the sacrament of the mass, infant baptism, crucifixes, religious ceremonies, even church buildings. He agitated for several years, but eventually was burned by a mob. Henry of Lausanne was a Cluniac monk, who first used his spiritual zeal to reform the monastery of which he was left in temporary charge and to stir the people to better living. He was an eloquent and popular preacher. He too discarded baptism on the ground that it was not essential to salvation, and asserted that faith was the necessary factor. He denounced the corruptions of the clergy, and insisted that their administration of the Lord's Supper was useless unless they were pure men. His ideal was the ascetic life. Both Peter and Henry valued the Bible as a spiritual guide. Because of the prominence of the Bible among the insurgents Pope Innocent III about 1200 restricted the use of the Bible. In the Netherlands and in Brittany others were proclaiming similar ideas. Arnold of Brescia was both a religious and political reformer. He denounced clerical abuses for some years before he led a popular movement of revolt at Rome against the papal government. He died a martyr to his principles about 1155.

Among the would-be reformers were certain millennialist groups, which cherished the expectation of the primitive Church that the end of the age was at hand. Conspicuous among them was Joachim of Floris and his followers. He set forth his program in bold prophecies, declaring that the papacy was to be ruined in its struggle with the empire, the empire was to be devastated by the Saracens, and they in turn would fall before a conquering horde of Tartars. The era of

the Holy Spirit's reign would then begin. The program failed to materialize, but with sublime confidence the millennarians explained away the failure of their expectations and moved their dates ahead.

Most prominent among the insurgents were the Waldensians. They were followers of Peter Waldo, a French layman of Lyons, who gave up a prosperous mercantile business and divided up his property that he might undertake a preaching mission. He criticized the Catholic clergy, went to the Bible for instruction, denied the efficacy of the mass, and asserted that laymen might preach and administer the ordinances. Such principles as these made it impossible for the Waldensians to receive the approval of the pope to their way of thinking and preaching and more than once they suffered from persecution. They became a social ferment, while their ideas spread from southern France and northern Italy into the mountains and valleys northward, and furnished seed corn for dissenters of a later time.

The Albigensians have been confused with the Waldensians. They were located in southern France where they had developed a superior material prosperity. They were more concerned with religious doctrine than with religious practices. They called themselves Cathari, or The Pure, and were Manichæan and Gnostic in many of their beliefs. They had small regard for the Roman Catholic clergy, sacraments and ceremonies, trusting rather the leadership of their own saints. They had their own version of the New Testament. They emphasized the importance of morals, yet they were charged by their enemies with misconduct as well as heresy, and the pope pronounced a crusade against them. This wrecked their material prosperity and resulted in the loss of many lives.

THE INQUISITION

It was one of the functions of the bishop to guard his flock against heresy, and the Fourth Lateran Council impressed upon the bishops the responsibility of hunting out heresy. If they were lax they were prodded by papal legates. Dominican friars were used as spies. It was a hoary Catholic principle that uniformity in the faith must be preserved, and that it would be better to take the physical life of a recreant heretic, if need be, than to let his soul suffer eternal punishment. In a cruel age like the Middle Ages torture was an accompaniment of judicial trials, and it was applied freely to extort confession of heresy. As heresy increased, it became necessary to

establish a special tribunal for the trial of heresy cases, and the Inquisition was definitely established in 1252. This gradually became a system of courts under papal control, with an inquisitor-general as chief administrator. The system included salaried officials at local points and the civil assistance of secular officials. Persons were arrested on suspicion and compelled to prove their innocence. If convicted their property was confiscated and the proceeds were divided among the court officials, the bishops, and the civil power. Confession of guilt might readmit the indicted person to the privileges of the Church, but he must suffer long imprisonment as a punishment. If he was incorrigible, he was turned over to the civil power which promptly burned him alive. The persecution of heretics had unfortunate results. It tended to brutalize the people, and it revived the spirit as well as the scenes of ancient pagan persecution. It destroyed some of the choicest characters in the Church. It alienated many Catholics. It encouraged secret propaganda and the organization of heresy. It resulted in economic loss from the destruction of property and enforced emigration.

FRANCIS OF ASSISI

A second evidence of discontent with the old order was the emergence of the friars. They were inspired by a religious devotion such as was characteristic of the monks, but monasticism was based on the principle that a religious life could not be lived in the midst of the world's activities, while the friars found their religious expression in the social life of their times. The motive of gain for one's own soul must in time give place to the nobler desire to serve others. Instead of contemplation was to come evangelism and social service. Not all monks had been selfish or solitary; the missionaries were conspicuous exceptions, but thousands of men and women lived sheltered from strain and stress in cloistered abbeys where the current of life flowed gently by. The friars found their lives by losing them, as Jesus did, in service for the lives of others. This was the primary distinction between the monk and the friar. Unfortunately similar temptations and the weaknesses of the flesh lowered the ideal of the friar, but he had caught a vision of the true way of life which the world has not lost.

A merchant's son of the upland village of Assisi in Italy was the prophet of the new evangel. Baptized as John Bernadone, he became known to history as St. Francis of Assisi. After a gay youth he

sobered with the consciousness that life had richer meanings and greater responsibilities. Guided by visions and the precepts of Jesus he took literally the command to preach to the poor and minister to their needs. Wedded to the "Lady Poverty," he wandered about in a gray mantle, a knight-errant of religion, attended soon by like-minded enthusiasts who were attracted by his simple life and zealous purpose, serving the lepers on the refuse heaps outside the city walls, befriending the sick and the needy wherever he found them, and tramping the dusty country roads in search of spiritual adventure. He did strange things. At the roadside he dropped behind his companions and preached to the birds a sermon on gratitude. He called himself God's troubadour and preached the joy of life with a fine idealism. He was enthusiastic enough to believe that a company of poor laymen might save society. To some people he seemed a religious maniac; to others it was as if an angel lived among men.

FRANCISCANS AND DOMINICANS

Although Francis himself was averse to any organization, he saw that it was necessary, if the movement which he had started was to be effective. He therefore drew up a code of rules which required the same obligation as that of monks to poverty, chastity and obedience. Pope Innocent III was wise enough to sanction the new brotherhood, and it speedily won a popularity which the old orders could not equal. At first the friars were humble, ignorant men, but as time passed they became teachers in the universities. At first laymen, they were soon required to be ordained as priests and they often became the preferred confessors of the laity, even of kings and princes. At first depending for their living on begging, and so called mendicants, they became as an order wealthy and in consequence worldly.

While Francis was initiating the Franciscan order, Dominic, a Spanish theologian, devoted his life to the suppression of such heresy as he saw in southern France. Convinced that the parish priests were not capable of coping with heretics, he organized an order of black-robed friars to go forth and preach and suppress heresy. He too received the sanction of the pope, and the Dominicans became rivals of the Franciscans in the universities and in the esteem of the people. The Dominicans were as a rule from a higher social class, they were the better preachers, and they were entrusted with the management of the Inquisition. The Franciscans became

foreign as well as home missionaries. They became divided according to their willingness to observe the spirit of Francis. The Spiritual Franciscans, who were his most loyal followers, tended to become fanatical and to accept the prophetic ideas of Joachim of Floris. Women enlisted in the friar movement, and were organized as Claresses. Sympathizers among the people took upon themselves some of the obligations without giving up their social responsibilities and were classed as Tertiaries. The popularity of the movement led to the organization also of Carmelites and Augustinians. The movement in general stimulated religion, and in spite of later degeneracy was an evidence of a desire for a more vital kind of religion.

WYCLIFFE AND HIS PEERS

The fourteenth century disclosed a double discontent with the papacy, whether as a reliable spiritual guide or as an agent of social control. Certain pamphlets were written under the spur of political campaigning, but they are symptoms of grave dissatisfaction with a system which had reached its climax a hundred years earlier. William of Occam, an English Schoolman who held the dangerous philosophy of nominalism, attacked the papacy as the ultimate authority in religion and demanded that people rely on the Scriptures and on the universal tradition of the Christian religion. Marsiglio of Padua in his *Defensor Pacis* also maintained that the seat of spiritual authority was in the Bible. He asserted the superiority of a general council to the pope, the superiority of the State to the papacy, and the right of the people to elect their rulers, an astonishingly modern doctrine for the fourteenth century.

More prominent than these was John Wycliffe, the spokesman of English unrest. He lived at a time when there was a twofold revolt against Roman absolutism. The rising tide of nationalism resented papal claims to overlordship. It was in defense of nationalism that Wycliffe wrote a tract on *Dominion*, which won him the friendship of the nobility and saved his life when he was attacked by the Church for his religious insurgency. The awakening thought of English scholars was throwing off the yoke of the Church from their minds. Wycliffe was a leader in that revolt also, bravely calling in question leading doctrines of Catholicism. He was the ablest scholar in the land, a graduate of Oxford University, and a doctor of divinity after sixteen years of study. He lectured in the university and preached as well.

Wycliffe was a destructive critic of much of the Catholic system, though he never separated from it. He believed that as a system it should be brought under state control. He did not regard the Church and its sacraments as essential to salvation. He would discard pardons, indulgences, pilgrimages, image worship, and saint veneration. He retained the sacraments as useful, and he believed in a real presence of Christ in the mass, but he rejected the theory of transubstantiation. Preaching seemed better than any sacrament. In his conflict with the Catholic system, Wycliffe appealed from the arbitrary will of an absolute pope to the Bible as an authority in religion. This appeal to the Bible gave Wycliffe the name of the "evangelical doctor." He was not contented with urging people to go to the Bible, but he made that possible by giving to them an English translation from the Latin Vulgate. Coming before the days of printing, not many copies were made but a number of them survived the determined effort of the Catholic Church to destroy them, and Wycliffe's Bible must be counted among the causes of the Reformation in England. Not content with this he sent out companies of russet-gowned priests who accepted his leadership to preach his ideas over the countryside. His followers were known as Lollards. Wycliffe has been called the last of the Schoolmen and the morning star of the Reformation.

The Lollard movement failed of wide and lasting success for several reasons. It was opposed vigorously by the Church. Though Wycliffe died in peace, his bones were exhumed and burned and the ashes thrown into the river. It was a premature revolt. A few persons only were ready to accept such radical tendencies. It was too scholastic, suited rather to the professor's desk than to the public forum. It was too negative. Wycliffe had little to propose in place of the system which he denounced. And it was too local. England was a minor nation in the Europe of the fourteenth century, too far to one side to affect the great currents of thought. And only a part of England listened to Wycliffe. Outside of London, the eastern counties, and the Midlands, England long remained loyal to Catholic tradition.

THE HUSSITES IN BOHEMIA

A certain Jerome of Prague studied at Oxford and came under the influence of the opinions of Wycliffe. A reform movement spread among the Bohemian clergy, and evangelical preaching was

heard. John Huss felt the influence of Wycliffe while he was a student at the university of Prague, and when he became a teacher in the university and a preacher in the city, as Wycliffe had been at Oxford, he took Wycliffe as a model. He studied the Bible earnestly, denounced the granting of indulgences by the Church, and declared that unworthy priests should not be permitted to administer the sacraments. He was less radical than Wycliffe in his doctrine of the eucharist, and was less original in his ideas. But he was a defender of Wycliffe, and the Church opposed his teaching. He was summoned to defend himself against the charge of heresy at the Council of Constance in 1415, where he was condemned and burned at the stake for heresy.

The death of Huss was resented bitterly by the Bohemians and led to a long war with the German Empire, which was both national and religious in character. The emperor broke his promise of safety for Huss at the council. Bohemia was one of the principalities included within the German Empire, and its king was one of the seven electors of the emperor. But there was strong racial feeling between the Bohemians and the Germans, and that was intensified by the religious question. The Bohemians religiously were Catholics, but restless under authority. Most of them agreed with Huss in demanding the communion "in both kinds" for the laity, and so were known as Utraquists. Certain radicals among them were called Taborites from Mount Tabor, the rallying point of the enraged people who rose in revolt after the burning of Huss. The fanatical Taborites threw off the yoke of the Catholic Church, adopted certain of the Waldensian as well as the Wycliffite teachings, including the absolute authority of the Bible, declared themselves the only Church of Christ, and looked for the speedy approach of the Millennium. Eventually they became a constituent part of the Protestant sect called the Bohemian Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*). Together the Bohemian Brethren and the Waldensians produced a ferment of religious unrest, and by their vernacular translations of Scripture and their aggressive evangelism they won many converts to their non-ecclesiastical interpretation of Christianity.

AVIGNON AND THE GREAT SCHISM

The century of Wycliffe was the century of the captivity of the papacy at Avignon and of the Great Schism with its unseemly quarrel between rival popes. The papal vacation from Rome which

was spent at Avignon was a most demoralizing influence upon the ecclesiastical system. Most of the popes were reasonably good men, but they were amid surroundings which tended to make the papal court lax from ease and luxury. The self-indulgence of the clergy was scandalous. The subservience of the papacy to France alienated England and Germany. The burdens of ecclesiastical support weighed heavily upon the faithful, and were a potent cause of religious discontent. The best elements in the Church lamented these weaknesses, wished for reforms, and urged a return to Rome. Petrarch challenged the pope to come back to the Holy City and not run the risk of dying among the sinners of Avignon. Catherine of Siena, an able and influential Italian saint, foretold the judgment of God upon the popes, if they did not yield to such importunities. The removal, made in 1309, was reversed in 1377 and Pope Gregory XI made Rome once more the papal headquarters.

The return was very displeasing to a strong faction of the clergy, and the next year they took the radical step of electing another pope. For the next thirty-six years, until the Council of Constance met in 1414, this Great Schism, as it was called, could not be healed. The peoples of Europe ranged themselves on both sides as seemed to their advantage. They steadily lost respect for popes who hurled curses at each other. At one time three popes were thus occupied. Church taxes were harder to collect, and some districts of country got on very well without expressing allegiance to either pope. It was under conditions like these that three councils met one after another in an attempt to bring order out of chaos and to effect a reform of the Church in its head and members. These three are called the Reforming Councils, and they constitute an important chapter in the history of the first half of the fifteenth century.

THE REFORMING COUNCILS

It was a debated question whether a council could be called without a summons from the pope, but something had to be done, and the supporters of the rival popes among the cardinals agreed in inviting the Catholic clergy to meet in council. A distinguished assembly met at Pisa in 1409, with representatives from Latin churches in the Near East, scores of Western bishops and abbots, educators from the leading European universities, and ambassadors from royal courts. The schism was not healed, for when both popes

were deposed and a third elected, none of them would give way, and each was supported by certain of the nations.

A second attempt was made five years later when the Emperor Sigismund prevailed upon the successor of the third pope, John XXIII, to call the Council of Constance. Three purposes were in the minds of its sponsors, to end the schism, to reform the Church of its delinquencies, and to crush heresy. The Council made sure this time that all the rival popes were removed, and elected Martin V as the rightful sovereign of the Church. Little reform was accomplished, and the crushing of heresy was limited to the burning of Huss.

The third council, meeting at Basle in Switzerland, assembled in 1431, but did not complete its sessions until 1449. It was called to determine what terms could be made with the Bohemians, who were in the midst of a victorious campaign against Catholic Germany. The Council also had to consider the question of a reunion with the Greek Church which was being encouraged by the Eastern emperor in order to gain Western support against the Ottoman Turks, who were pressing hard upon Constantinople. There was also the perennial question of reform. The Bohemians were conciliated, but before much more was accomplished the pope tried to dissolve the Council and called another from among his supporters. Friction continued until pope and emperor reached a compromise, with a net gain to the pope. Before the Council adjourned the papacy had extricated itself from its difficulties and reestablished its position.

EFFECTS OF THE FAILURE TO REFORM

The failure of the Council of Basle announced definitely to Europe that that method of bringing about reform in the Church could not succeed, at least in that period. Reform had been talked about for a long time, and had been carried through in the monasteries, but even there the evils had returned. The papal Curia did not wish to be reformed, and few of the popes desired it. For forty years all Roman Catholic Europe had shared in the attempts, but no real gain had been made. It began to look as if the only effective instrument would be a radical revolt which would compel the Church to reform if it would save itself.

Among those who had championed the calling of councils were William of Occam and Marsiglio of Padua. In university circles in

Paris Peter d'Ailly agreed with Occam that a general council had the right to regulate the papacy, John Gerson urged ecclesiastical reform, and Nicholas Clemanges went even farther in his trend away from papal authority. But all these men were good Catholics, and, while they regretted the failures at reform, they remained in the Church. Gerson and D'Ailly even voted for the death of Huss.

The papal Curia, satisfied that it could not be reformed forcibly, felt secure and continued its delinquencies. Financial abuses were especially disgraceful. Heavy taxes were laid on the laity wherever possible. Indulgences and dispensations were sold to get money. Clerical offices were bought and sold. Justice was debauched. Money seemed to be the passport to everything. Bribery, forgery, cheating, moral dissoluteness, and extravagance, were characteristic of the last half of the fifteenth century. With this example the higher clergy could not refrain from indulgence, and the parish priests were charged with drunkenness, obscenity and concubinage, with following improper trades, and neglecting the spiritual interests of the people. Many priests did not reside in the parishes but drew their revenues for outside spending. Yet there were shining exceptions to the degeneracy of the many.

Monks and friars gave no better evidence of a higher standard of living. Increase of wealth had continued to corrupt the monasteries, though the evils have probably been exaggerated. Luxury and indulgence in recreation more than diligence in their tasks were complained of, and monasticism was an increasing burden on society. The friars had not had so much time to fall from their ideals, but the fall had been rapid. They gained wealth, idled in monasteries, quarreled between rival orders, and were hostile to the older orders of monks. Yet Franciscans became missionaries to the Far East and the Far West. Savonarola was a friar, and Luther belonged to the Augustinians.

THE CATHOLIC PEOPLE

The Catholic Church included considerable numbers of people who were hungry for a more satisfying religion. Turned back upon their own resources because of the failure of proper guidance, they went to the Bible for light, met in prayer circles, and organized for the cultivation of a better religion. They practiced mutual aid when in difficulties, some of them tried a communal life. Some of them

toiled for their daily bread in urban industries which gave them small returns. But they helped one another in every way possible. These groups were seed beds of the Reformation.

The Catholic Church included all types of mind and varieties of religious experience. Mystics found spiritual contacts with God, which were unknown in the experience of the ordinary individual. Individuals like Eckhart and circles like the Brethren of the Common Lot showed how hungry some people were for fellowship with God. Scholars found delight in their intellectual pursuits and were content to be conventional in religion. Some were semimonastic brethren, some mystics, some schoolmasters, some lovers of humankind and busy with social service. The great majority were immersed in the occupations and cares of daily life, practiced indifferently the common virtues, which ordinarily were not of a high order, and performed the outward observances of religion. A mistaken emphasis in religion was put upon masses and penance and tithes instead of on preaching practical and spiritual religion and the need of noble purpose and endeavor. There was too much dependence on altars and priests and sacraments, on crucifixes, relics and indulgences, on holy water and saints' days and prayers to the Virgin, while the people were ignorant of the simple teachings of Jesus. Meantime the Church drifted toward destruction.

THE RENAISSANCE

Under circumstances such as these it was dangerous for people to think too much. They might get to thinking about the Church and the grounds of its claims to allegiance. They might be tempted to reject claims that did not seem justified. They might find an easier way to heaven, one that would seem surer and would cost less.

One of the most important phases of the awakening was intellectual. The lack of public education had been a grave handicap to progress, but now with the lay schools and the universities adding to the stimulus of scholastic disputation, the children of the rich burghers might begin to think. In the fourteenth century nominalism as represented by William of Occam triumphed over realism in the universities. Occam's writings were condemned several times by the University of Paris, but the nominalists had intrenched themselves in the favor of the Church by finding a philosophical basis for the doctrine of transubstantiation, and they were able to defy opposition. But nominalism weakened Scholasticism and en-

couraged individualism. The old system was waning in influence, and a new discipline was being groomed to take its place.

The Renaissance marks the rebirth of the mind to a truer sense of values. Until then human life on earth was underestimated. This earth was regarded as a place of sorrow rather than joy, a forecourt to a heaven of bliss or a hell which was made frightfully realistic by the imagery of Dante, the epic poet of the Middle Ages. Dante was the herald of the Renaissance. He was a Florentine, born in 1265 on the borderland between the medieval and the modern age, and he partook of the characteristics of both. In his point of view he was medieval, and his theology and philosophy are medieval, but he felt within himself the stirring of the new life, and in him is the swelling of that tide of humanism which broke over all restraints of conservatism in the next century and brought in the thought and life of the modern world. He criticized with the abandon of a reformer. He had confidence in his own individual judgment and insisted on one's rights as a man. He appreciated the ancient classics and used them as a model. Henceforth man was no longer a worm of the dust, but a free-ranging mind beating his wings against the prison of his intellectual world.

The Renaissance revived an interest in the classical literature and art of antiquity, but its real fruit was humanism. Petrarch, collector of old manuscripts, lover of nature, and critic of the papacy at Avignon, was its godfather. Italy was its nurse, for it was cradled amid its visible ruins and under her sunny skies. Italian humanism tended to revert to paganism, and sometimes forgot the standards of morals and good taste. It was a movement that brought new pleasures to the social élite, but no advantage to the common people. It was not their privilege to lift up their heads and face the stars, to shape their own destiny, and to live out lives of satisfaction and achievement. Paganism and religious indifference were to undermine ecclesiastical authority among the humanists, yet popes dabbled in the New Learning. Nicholas V was trained in humanism and carried its ideas into the Vatican. He tried to beautify religion and ennoble it by literature and art. He collected the books of the palace into the famous Vatican Library. He collected manuscripts from abroad, and scholars flocked to Rome to use his literary collections. Old buildings were restored, and architectural marvels were erected. When he came to die he counted as his best achievements that he had given Rome a great library and had beautified the city with all forms of art.

One of the greatest effects of the Renaissance was its æsthetic gains. Never since the Periclean Age in Athens had painting, sculpture, and architecture attained such excellence. The buildings and statues of Michelangelo, the paintings of Raphael and Leonardo da Vinci and Fra Angelico, were products of a Christian art that blossomed with amazing luxuriance. Art had contributed to religion all the way along. From the drawings on the walls of the ancient catacombs to the magnificent cathedrals of Milan and Cologne human imagination and faith had expressed their aspirations. Music and sacred poetry had enriched the worship of the people. Dramatic representations had made Biblical scenes live again. Mystery and miracle plays were popular. But now it seemed as if human genius reached its highest point in Michelangelo, who combined in himself so many varieties of skill and became renowned as master of them all.

Lorenzo de Medici gathered about himself a brilliant coterie of scholars, and Florence became noted for literature and art more than any other city of Europe at that time. The new spirit of the age was nowhere more masterful than in the cities of Italy. Yet even in Florence Savonarola at the end of the fifteenth century denounced its way of life with the vigor of an Old Testament prophet, and persuaded the people to burn their superfluities of life in a huge bonfire. He dared to criticize the prince of the Medici, and he denounced the delinquencies of the papacy. He was the victim of his enemies, but not until he had shown that morality was more important than high æsthetic excellence.

Once over the Alps in its progress northward the Renaissance took on a more religious character. In France, Germany and England, men turned the new world of the classical languages and documents to a better understanding of Holy Scripture. Textual criticism of both Testaments was made. De Clemanges and d'Étaples in France, Reuchlin and Erasmus in Germany, Colet and More in England, Ximenes in Spain, led the way to the appreciation of what the New Learning meant to a Christian. Erasmus is the best known among them, a man too conventional and timid to become insurgent in his thinking about religion, but caustic in his criticism of Scholasticism. He was a painstaking scholar, and his critical edition of the Greek New Testament became the norm for the sacred text, and the basis for vernacular translations. Humanism found its way against opposition into some of the schools and universities, and circles of humanists came into existence in the thriving cities. The invention of print-

ing by movable type was an important means of diffusing the New Learning, and enterprising publishers multiplied copies of the ancient classics and printed the contributions of the moderns.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. How do you explain the rise of the Waldensians? How were they different from the Albigensians?
2. What was the psychological basis of the Inquisition? Does heresy justify persecution?
3. How do you explain Francis of Assisi? Criticize him.
4. Appraise the whole movement of the friars.
5. What kind of a movement does Wycliffe represent? Outline his career.
6. Compare Wycliffe and Huss in career, in ability, and in character.
7. What is your estimate of the relative consequences to the papacy of the stay at Avignon and the Great Schism?
8. Why did the reforming councils fail? Could they have succeeded with sympathetic popes? What were the consequences of the failure?
9. What is the true meaning of the Renaissance? Was Dante a modern man?
10. How did the Italian and the German Renaissance differ? Who were some of the representatives in art and literature?

For class discussion and debate

1. Would the Reformation have come if the Avignon residence had not occurred and the reforming councils failed?
2. How do the Franciscans compare with the Salvation Army?
3. Was the Renaissance a help or a hindrance to a better religion?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. The Tertiaries.
2. The English of Wycliffe's Bible.
3. Wycliffe's Poor Priests.

For longer written essays

1. Origins of the Inquisition.
2. Later history of the Waldensians.
3. The Spiritual Franciscans.
4. The Utraquists.
5. The papal Curia.

For conference and examination

1. A character study of Francis of Assisi compared with Bernard of Clairvaux and Augustine.

For maps or tables

1. A map to show the spread of religious discontent.
2. Make a list of eminent friars before 1600.
3. Make a list of the grounds of religious discontent.

READING REFERENCES

Sources

BONAVENTURA. Life of St. Francis
 The Little Flowers of St. Francis
 DANTE. Divine Comedy
 WYCLIFFE. Select English Works
 Letters of John Huss
 A KEMPIS. Imitation of Christ
 ROBINSON. Readings in European History
 WHITCOMB. Literary Source-book of the Renaissance

Secondary Guides

HUIZINGA. The Waning of the Middle Ages
 DAVISON. Forerunners of St. Francis
 SABATIER. Life of St. Francis of Assisi
 MUZZEY. The Spiritual Franciscans
 SEDGWICK. Italy in the Thirteenth Century
 COMBA. The Waldensians
 WARNER. The Albigensian Heresy
 LEA. History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages
 NEWMAN. History of Antipædobaptism
 LOSERTH. Wiclif and Hus
 TREVELYAN. England in the Age of Wyclif
 SICHEL. The Renaissance
 GRANDGENT. Dante
 BOYD-CARPENTER. The Spiritual Message of Dante
 ULLMAN. Reformers before the Reformation.
 GASQUET. The Eve of the Reformation
 CREIGHTON. History of the Papacy
 JÖRGENSEN. St. Francis of Assisi
 HYMA. The Christian Renaissance
 TURBERVILLE. Mediæval Heresy and the Inquisition

CHAPTER XVI

THE REVOLT FROM THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

THE SHIFT OF INTEREST TO NORTHERN EUROPE

WITH the sixteenth century historical interest shifts definitely from southern to northern Europe. From far ancient time the Mediterranean had been the center of political and commercial interest. Authority proceeded from Rome, and Italy had the prestige of ancient power and culture. Medieval unity inhered in the Roman Catholic Church when society tended to break up into small groups. For a long time it was inconceivable that leadership should pass to the North. But England and France had emancipated themselves from the temporal authority of the papacy, and each was becoming conscious of its national unity and impatient of international control in national affairs. In Germany and the Rhine country national development was delayed, but the manufacturing and commercial classes in the towns were winning to comfort and culture with their increasing wealth, and they were feeling the stir of new ideas. Such people would not be submissive readily to political or ecclesiastical dictation. Everywhere from the Alps to the sea was a growing dissatisfaction with the inefficient system of religion and the social control which centered at Rome, until a revolution was not unlikely.

The future ascendancy of the North was not at once apparent. Italy still was distinguished as the home of the Renaissance and the seat of ecclesiastical empire. Portugal was opening a new trade route around Africa to the East, and bringing to the Atlantic ports some of the prosperity that had been enjoyed in the Mediterranean. Spain had become consolidated and had driven out the last of the Moors, and then by the fortunate discovery of America had gained an illimitable opportunity for exploitation which would make the nation rich and powerful. In 1519 the Spanish king, Charles I, was elected emperor of Germany as Charles V, and thus more power and dignity were united in a single person than at any time since the Western empire of Rome broke to pieces, unless Charlemagne be

excepted. In Spain and Austria, in the Netherlands and parts of Italy, and over vast areas across the Atlantic, the royal will was law. In Germany the semi-independent princes limited absolutism and the cities were self-conscious, but for thirty-five years the will of a Spaniard was the dominant factor in the country. But the primacy of Spain was in decline before the century was over. The imperialistic policies of Charles V and his son Philip II were selfish and short-sighted. Portugal did not possess qualities or resources to develop permanent prosperity. And Italy remained divided politically and decadent economically and religiously.

Northern Europe was on the eve of one of those profound disturbances that have come in the history of peoples, like the physical upheavals of nature, which have altered the course of the stream of progress and compelled readjustments in all departments of life. It was in Germany and Switzerland, in the Netherlands and England, that the new ideas were fermenting which were to bring the Reformation. It was not restricted to religion. The consequences as well as the causes of the Reformation were various. Political, economic, and social concerns were all involved. But the motive power was intellectual and religious. The focal power of the convulsion was in Germany where the competency of the individual soul as well as the Church to obtain spiritual salvation was asserted, and there the Catholic Church lost the spiritual power which it had held over northern Europe long after its political power was gone.

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE OF GERMANY

North of the Alps the continent slopes downward to the level of the North and Baltic seas. Down the long slope flow the Rhine, the Elbe, and other rivers to fertilize plains and forests and to provide natural channels for trade. Vast forests once hindered easy transit, isolated hamlets of rural folk, and darkened the imagination of the people, who believed in spirits of the wood as did the ancient Greeks, but in darksome devils rather than gay ghosts. Out of those forests had emerged the numerous folk who had swarmed over the Roman frontiers, but others remained behind to be civilized and Christianized in subsequent centuries. Brought into some sort of political order by Charlemagne, they fell apart in the days of feudalism, and when Charles V became emperor as many as three hundred self-governing principalities were included in the loosely organized German Empire. Some of them were virtually independ-

ent kingdoms like Bohemia. Others were the extensive territories of ecclesiastical lords, like the archbishop of Cologne. Still others were free cities with their environs. Germany was located strategically for its own rapid development and for influencing its neighbors. It had long had close relations with Italy. On the eastern side it included border provinces like Moravia and Austria, and had contacts with Poland. The Scandinavian countries on the north were akin, and on the lower Rhine were districts peopled by other kin, the Dutch, who were dependents of the house of Austria, the most respected of the German states. Similarly the Swiss cantons on the south were still technically a part of the empire. Social disturbances in Germany would shake all these countries. It is significant that the religious revolt started there.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Normally German life was preponderantly rural. Erfurt with thirty thousand population was a large city for that time. As in former centuries peasants toiled as serfs on the landed estates, but economic conditions were not so good as they had been about 1450, and the people were discontented and easily aroused to social outbreaks. Feudal obligations annoyed them, especially because they had lost the communal privileges that they had enjoyed formerly. The manners and morals of the people were rude. The Italians considered the Germans boorish. They ate and drank heavily if they had the means of indulgence. Their recreations remind one of frontier rowdyism. People were better off in the towns but they were as unrefined. Inside the walled towns were the buildings and extensive grounds of the wealthy burghers, but cattle and pigs were housed along with the family, and sanitation was unthought of. Business was increasing rapidly. Augsburg had seven hundred and fifty master weavers, and the banking houses of Fugger and Welser were the great centers of finance for the empire. Nuremberg rivaled Venice in trade and Florence in culture. Merchants and bankers were considered socially inferior to the landed nobles, but they made money faster. The Catholic Church opposed the taking of interest and absorbed large amounts of money that otherwise might have swelled the fortunes of the captains of industry, and for that reason the merchants were glad of any opposition to the Church which would divert the stream of money that was continually pouring across the Alps. They welcomed the Reformation when it came.

INDIVIDUAL THINKING

Town life was characterized by its associations—guilds, universities, chapter houses, monastic orders—but the individual had an opportunity to get ahead with the growth of capitalism, and the spirit of the Renaissance which found a home in the cities tended to stimulate a man's own thinking. The crusades had stirred individual thought and ambition. As people became conscious of their own individual capacities they resented dictation from others, and this worked against the authority of the Church. This was another way by which the minds of thousands of Germans were being prepared for religious revolt. Lay schools in towns and cities developed thought. At Magdeburg, Münster, Schlettstatt near Strassburg, and above all at Deventer in Holland, thousands of students were organized by the Brethren of the Common Lot in progressive schools where they were trained for better living. At Frankfort was a high school for girls, where others than nuns were teachers. The number of universities was increasing, including Erfurt and Wittenberg.

REUCHLIN AND ERASMUS

The Renaissance in Germany produced two eminent scholars, whose efforts to provide critical texts of the Old and New Testaments contributed to the Biblical emphasis in religion and to the translation of the Bible into the vernacular. Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522) was the most eminent Hebrew scholar of his age. He studied law and literature in France, and Greek and Hebrew in Italy. He was proud that he was the first to make possible a true knowledge of the Hebrew language in Germany. He got into a serious controversy in a defense of the Jews and their writings, and the Inquisition tried to secure his condemnation as a heretic. The humanists stood by him, the government of Germany was friendly, and the conflict became a war of words. The friends of Reuchlin collected forty appreciative letters that Reuchlin had received from his friends and published them as *Clarorum Virorum Epistolae ad Johannem Reuchlin*. This suggested the writing and publication of a satire of his obscurantist enemies in the form of *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*. These letters were written by certain humanists who tried to reveal the ignorance of the monks. They had the effect of making the old learning ridiculous.

To the same end was the *Praise of Folly* by Desiderius Erasmus. Erasmus was the greatest of the Northern humanists. Born in

Rotterdam, a student for a time in England, active in Germany, and publishing his writings in Switzerland, he was in touch with cultivated circles at many points, and gained recognition for himself as a master of the New Learning. He depended for his living on the patronage of the great, and he was careful not to offend by his writings any of those from whom he might expect favors. His timidity made him hesitate to take sides in the religious issues which came to the front. But as a Greek scholar he was unrivaled. He published in 1516 his critical edition of the New Testament, which became the standard for the translations that were made into the vernacular languages. He was the author of the *Enchiridion*, a Handbook for the Christian Soldier, in which he pointed out the need of personal relation to God; and in his *Praise of Folly* he exposed the weaknesses and follies of the clergy and made fun of pilgrims, indulgence purchasers, and venerators of relics. He escaped prosecution because he never called names, he had the protection of powerful friends, and he was not a heretic in his ideas of religion. He hoped that religion might be simpler and purer, but he relied wholly on intellectual means in an age which was throbbing with emotional revolt. He could not be the prophet of the Reformation.

MYSTICISM

All along the course of Christian history appear thoughtful men and women who found their religious satisfactions neither through the offices of the Church nor by their own intellectual efforts, but by means of spiritual insight. There were French mystics, like the monks of St. Victor, who stressed their ecstatic experiences. There were crazy persons who were pathologically emotional, like Christine Stommeln or Henry Suso. The German mystics were sane, morally scrupulous in their lives, and conscious of inner communion with God. These men were forerunners of the Reformation. Some of them are eminent personally; others were unknown members of associations of brethren. The most prominent name is that of Master Eckhart, who believed in an indwelling God with whom any attuned soul could have fellowship, but whose pantheism made him distrusted by many. John Ruysbroek was the greatest of the Dutch mystics, a man who was impressed with the sinfulness of his age, and who preached reform with all the power of his nature at the same time that he fell back on the inner satisfaction which came from spiritual fellowship with God. Gerhard Groot, his disciple, was the founder

of the Brethren of the Common Lot. He was an evangelist who preached the simple gospel in the cities of the Netherlands, and gained numerous adherents. These were organized into groups, some of which lived a semimonastic life in religious houses, depending for their maintenance on such an industry as copying manuscripts. It was a voluntary communism without vows, and it worked well. These religious groups were scattered over the Netherlands and northern Germany.

The Friends of God was an organization of laymen, which flourished in Switzerland and western Germany. Its members were loyal to the Catholic Church, but they deplored the evils of their times and the irreligion of so many of the clergy. The love of God was the basis of their faith and hope, and they believed that God would kindle in them a flame of devotion that would make them truly his kin. Less esteemed were the Brethren of the Free Spirit. They believed in an inner illumination of the soul and had no liking for the sacraments of the Church, but they were so sure that they could not commit sin that they alienated people who distrusted that principle.

John Tauler was an evangelical mystic, preaching eloquently at Strassburg and Cologne, and preparing the way for the spiritual revival which was to come. Tauler declared that he who confesses the true faith of Christ is not a heretic, even though he sins against the pope. His sermons made a deep impression on Martin Luther before he revolted against the Church. A small book called *German Theology* also affected the thought of Luther. Each of these emphasized inner experience, aided perhaps by worship and the sacraments, but far more important to secure union with God. Mysticism had its dangers. Some there were who became morbid as a result of too much introspection. Some became so wrapped up in their thoughts as to be selfish. Others lost the perspective of moral obligation and fell into sin. But mysticism was a wholesome corrective, and when it combined the inner experience with practical preaching and philanthropy it was an instrument of good. But mysticism is for the few; reformed religion was the need of all.

THE GERMAN BRETHREN

The Germans were a religious folk, fond of pilgrimages, devoted to cults, such as that of Anna, the mother of the Virgin Mary, and willing to pay good money if they received its value in religion.

REVOLT FROM THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

But many of them were dissatisfied with the clergy and not only found a substitute in the Bible but drew together in groups of brethren, as they called themselves, not for semimonastic organization, like some others, but for mutual encouragement. They held religious meetings and fraternized in spirit at least, with Waldensians and the Bohemian Brethren—all used the same catechism—and welcomed the Lutheran movement when it came, though its political connections made them shy about joining it. These folk were usually artisans by trade, and while not well educated, they were more intelligent and independently minded than the rural peasants.

THE DESIRE FOR A MORE SATISFACTORY RELIGION

In many homes religion was a vital part of family life. A recognition of dependence on God for the common gifts of life, and upon His kindly favor for spiritual blessings was more evangelical than churchly. It was as if the inner consciousness of the individual instructed him that God was nearer than the priest had taught him to believe. Hymns were sung in the homes; mothers sang children to sleep with religious lullabies. The children were taught the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. When they grew up they tended to conform to the religious practices of German society, but they did not easily forget their early training. Some of the clergy reformed. The original spirit of the Franciscans was revived in certain of the friars, and the Augustinians were a popular order. But ignorance and corruption were so widespread that a steadily increasing number of people were likely to welcome a religious revolt from the Catholic Church. Cardinal Julian, one of the leading Catholics, explained to the pope the temper of the German people, and warned him that if the clergy were not thoroughly reformed the people would destroy them. As the deficiencies of Judaism made possible the growth of the Christian movement in the first century, so the failure of Catholicism to preserve religious and moral efficiency made probable a religious revolt against the established ecclesiastical order.

Before the fifteenth century was over several men were preaching doctrines that became characteristic of the Reformation. John Pupper of Goch, affected by the Renaissance, by mysticism, and by the Brethren of the Common Lot, asserted the authority of Scripture as against that of ecclesiastical tradition, and stressed the love of God and personal faith. John Wesel, a teacher in the University of Erfurt

and later a popular preacher at Mainz and Worms, attacked the root principle of indulgences as well as Catholic abuses connected with their sale, and declared that a man was saved directly through the grace of God without the need of ecclesiastical mediation. John of Wessel, one of the most noted scholars of the period and a professor in several of the German universities, took the Bible as his sole authority in religion and maintained that faith in Christ was the sure road to salvation. Though these men remained in the Catholic Church, they sowed the seeds of that separatist movement which the sixteenth century was to bring.

THE SALE OF INDULGENCES

Deep as were the underlying causes of the Reformation—the political rivalry between State and Church, the drain of money to Rome and the consequent jealousy of merchants and princes, the growing independence of thinking about religion and life, due to the Renaissance and the schools, and the popular dissatisfaction with the clergy, coupled with a desire for a better understanding of a way of spiritual life—the outbreak of the Reformation was precipitated by an experiment in high finance in Germany. Albert, a young cleric, had been appointed archbishop of Mainz, and needed many thousand gulden to pay for the pallium, a woolen scarf which the pope gave to an archbishop as his badge of office. He arranged with the Fugger banking house of Augsburg to supply the money with the understanding that the pope, who wanted as much as he could get from the transaction for the special purpose of building St. Peter's at Rome, should sanction a sale of indulgences in Germany. The well-known reputation of the Germans for religiousness made it reasonable to believe that the church might thus capitalize their devotion. Indulgences were one of the means long used in the penitential system of the Catholic Church, though reformers like Wycliffe opposed them.

An indulgence may be explained as a draft upon the bank of heaven to pay for sin. Sin and its consequences were very real to the medieval Christian. It was an axiom of the Catholic faith that sin could be forgiven by the priest in the name of God, but the penalties for sin were not thus escaped. The sinner must suffer after death unless by penance he could appease God and have the punishment remitted. It was a teaching of the Church that the death of Jesus had heaped up a treasury of merit upon which the Church was

privileged to draw drafts. Such a draft was a pardon which removed the penalty. It cost the sinner money to obtain such a pardon, but there were unscrupulous clergymen who did not hesitate to drive a trade in such pardons, and even to declare that such a document could be obtained before the sin was committed. Theoretically the indulgence was not valid unless there was contrition of heart for sin committed, but it was easy to let mild regret take the place of remorse for a wrong done.

The particular sale that was arranged in Germany was progressing favorably in 1517, when John Tetzel, the sales agent in the neighborhood of Wittenberg in Saxony, sold a few indulgences to persons from that town. When they confessed their sins next time to Father Martin Luther and presented their pardons as acquitting them of penance he was troubled. Luther was a Saxon friar who had been studying the Bible with a growing conviction that Catholic faith and practice were mistaken at many points, and who as professor of theology at the University of Wittenberg had extensive influence. Believing that indulgences were a travesty on the forgiving grace of God and a financial curse to his own country of Germany, he wrote out a series of arguments, or theses, on the subject in Latin and posted them on the bulletin board of the university. He hoped that they might arouse discussion of the subject among the learned doctors of the Church. These theses were translated into German and printed and scattered broadcast. They aroused great excitement for they seemed to strike a popular chord of feeling. There was an increasing body of opinion that was opposed to the expensive system of the church establishment. More money went to Rome than princes or merchants could afford. They were glad when someone dared to strike at the abuses. When the friar of Wittenberg declared that human folk were justified in the sight of God by personal faith in Christ rather than by any expensive scheme or work of merit, it pleased not only those who wished to keep the money but the thousands of common folk who were dissatisfied with the Church. When the Catholic authorities awoke to the gravity of the situation, Luther was established firmly in the favor and confidence of his countrymen.

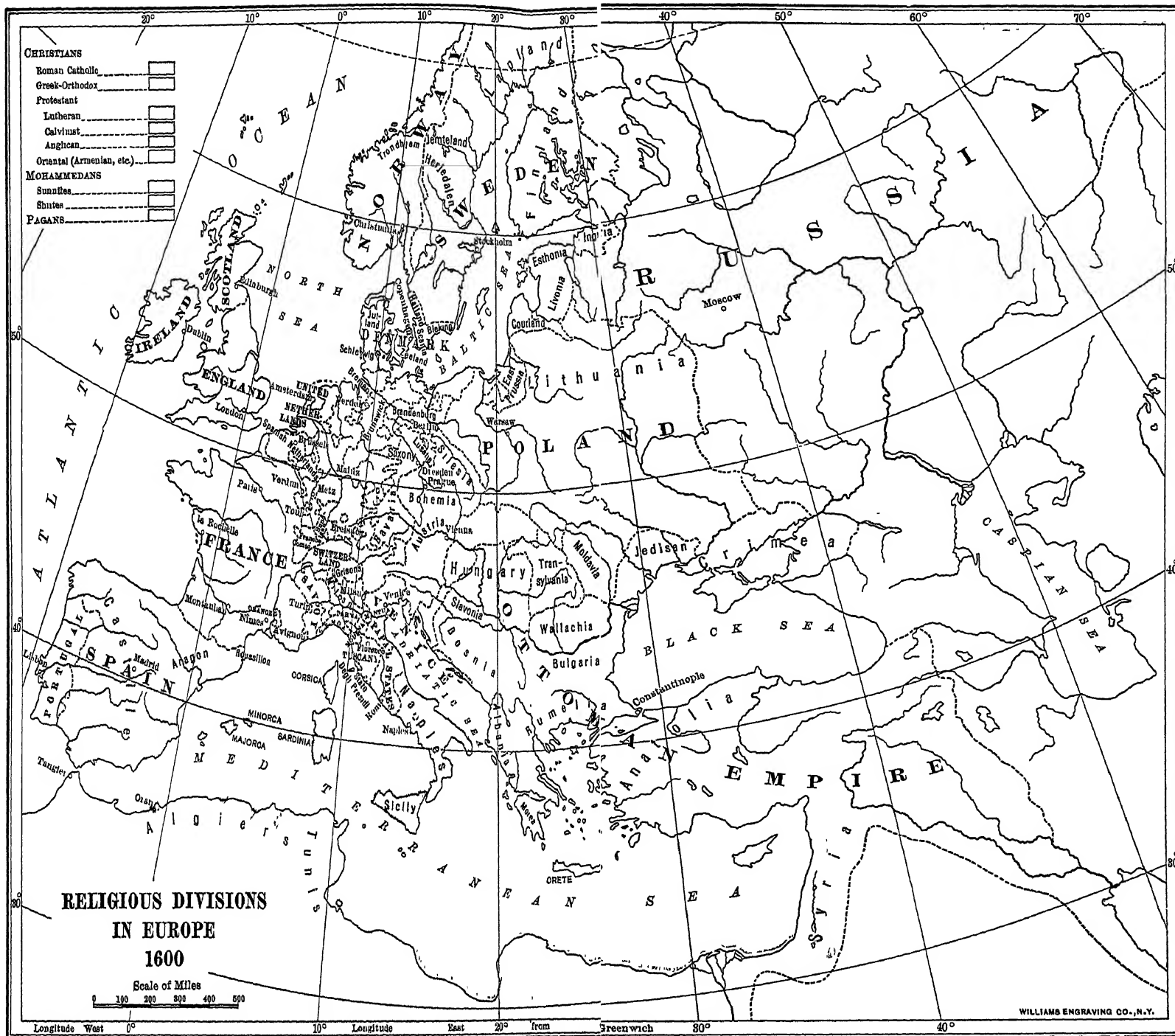
It was an eventful time in history. The Turks had captured Constantinople in 1453 and were pushing dangerously into central Europe. But at the southwest corner of Europe the Moors had been driven from their last stronghold in Spain. In the same year Columbus had discovered America. Spain and France were rivals for the

control of Italy and the Spanish king was on the eve of his election as emperor of Germany. The Spaniards and the Turks were rivals, with the French king ready to take advantage of the weakness of either. In the intricacies of European politics the papacy steered its course with an eye to its own advantage. It had escaped all attempts at reform since the Council of Pisa had met more than half a century earlier. The Inquisition was busily at work checking any tendency toward heresy, and in spite of the growth of evangelical religion, especially in Germany, there seemed little prospect of ecclesiastical improvement. But when reform seemed to have failed revolution arrived.

MARTIN LUTHER

North Germany is a country of plains and mineral-stocked hills through which broad rivers flow into northern seas. Midway through the German lands one of these rivers flows northwest and empties into the North Sea near the peninsula of Denmark. Halfway down its course it receives a tributary from the west. In that region was the nest of the German Reformation. Near the junction of the two streams was Wittenberg, where Luther was professor of theology in the university when he made his protest against indulgences. Some miles to the southwest was Erfurt and between them was the small mining village of Eisleben, where Luther, a miner's son, was born on the tenth of November in the year 1483.

Though humbly born, he was able to attend the University of Erfurt, where he expected to complete his training for the law, but while there he was driven by circumstances to choose the life of a monk and entered a cloister of the Augustinian friars in Erfurt. In monastic retirement he mortified the flesh and tried to get spiritual satisfaction, nearly ruining his constitution by his asceticism, but he was in misery of soul until he was directed to Bible study. Then he began to see that the emphasis of the Church upon deeds of merit was false security for salvation, and that personal faith in Christ as a Savior could alone justify the sinner before God. That ray of light brightened gradually until it banished the gloom of his spirit, and he found his way to fullness of conviction and joy. Staupitz, his superior, seeing that Luther needed diversion of mind from himself, secured him a position to teach in the new University of Wittenberg, and there he became involved after a time in the indulgence controversy.



THE PROGRESS OF LUTHER'S THOUGHT

During the next few years Luther wrote and spoke with increasing independence. He criticized the Church. He wrote pamphlets to prove his points and as a means of popular appeal in a time when there were no newspapers to shape public opinion. At first the pope was disposed to laugh at a squabble between Augustinian and Dominican friars, but the Augustinian order to which Luther belonged was told to take him in hand. Luther met with his brothers in convention at Heidelberg but gained more there than he lost. He was indicted and summoned to Rome for trial but through the friendship of his prince, Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, the trial was held in German territory at Augsburg where Luther had a hearing before a papal legate. This did not end the matter, and the disturbance was so alarming in Saxony that the pope sent a representative to find out the exact situation. This led to a change of tactics, and an attempt to come to terms with the Wittenberg professor of theology. But Luther persisted in his own course. A debate followed with John Eck, a Catholic champion, in which Luther was forced to admit that he agreed with John Huss, who had been condemned by the Council of Constance a century earlier. There was good ground for official condemnation, and Luther was excommunicated from the Church. He burned the bull of excommunication in a bonfire at Wittenberg and thus defied the power of the Roman Catholic Church. Cajoled, bribed, threatened, finally excommunicated, Luther defended himself vigorously, appealing from "the pope badly informed" to "the pope to-be-better-informed," and then to a general council of the Church, though Pope Leo X had asserted his own superiority to a council.

THE DIET OF WORMS

Luther had been slow to break with the Catholic Church, but he had reached the conclusion that the fundamental difficulties between the old system and the new interpretations of religion were too great to make reconciliation possible. He had discovered for millions of people the spiritual essence of Christianity and in the flush of his enthusiasm he was willing to brave the ban of the Church, and if necessary that of the empire also. The condemnation of the Church had been pronounced, but it depended on the secular power to execute the will of the Church. In 1521 the Emperor Charles convened a legislative diet of the empire at Worms on the Rhine. Luther was

summoned to attend by an imperial herald. The grave question was whether the German government would carry out the papal condemnation. Before all the dignitaries of the empire, lay and clerical, and before the papal legate Aleander, Luther was bidden to say whether he stood by the position that he had taken in his writings. Daring to assert his independence, though but a miner's son, he declared that he took his stand on the Bible as his authority and refused to recant what he had written, unless it could be proved false to Scripture.

It was a bold defiance that Luther made to the twin powers of the pope and the emperor, but it did not save him from condemnation. The emperor forced an edict of condemnation through the Diet and Luther was made an outlaw. Unless his own Elector of Saxony should support him he would lose his life. It was then that Luther's friends seized him under cover of night on his journey homeward, and carried him for safety to the castle of the Wartburg, where he remained for a year. This gave him opportunity for further study, and there he commenced his German translation of the Bible.

THE WRITINGS OF LUTHER

The translation of the Bible which Luther began at the Wartburg was continued to its completion with the help of friends in spite of the numerous interruptions of the next ten years. Other vernacular German translations from the Latin Vulgate had preceded it, but Luther used the colloquial language of the people as his medium, and translated from the original with the help of the best critical texts. The result was a German Bible which became the accepted version of the German Protestants, and fixed the form of the literary language of the country. In the years that followed Luther wrote and preached many sermons, the most famous of which were on good works and on the communion; he wrote expositions of the books of the Bible that had the strongest appeal for him, especially Romans and Galatians; fond of music, he was the author of hymns which he published for the use of the people and he had a wide correspondence. The bulk of his writing was of a controversial nature, and many were the pamphlets thrown off red-hot from his pen. His best-known tracts of this sort were his three "primary works" published in 1520, the *Address to the German Nobility*, which was a summons to the national leaders to assume their responsi-

bility to lead the march of religious progress and to right contemporary wrongs; the *Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, in which he attacked the sacramental system of the Catholic Church, the very citadel of the organization; and the *Liberty of a Christian Man*, in which like Paul he gloried in the freedom of the Gospel in distinction from the bondage of the Catholic to the ecclesiastical system. Luther reached in this pamphlet of thirty pages the high-water mark of his progress away from Catholicism. In it he declared the right of private judgment in the interpretation of the Bible and the privilege of living one's own life in the liberty of the spirit. He was to recede from that principle as he saw its effect upon the inflammable minds of the peasants when the Peasants' War broke out a few years later. But it was the ideal toward which the Protestant movement worked its way until the independent churches of Great Britain won their liberty in the seventeenth century.

THE THINKING OF LUTHER AND MELANCHTHON

Much of the history of the Reformation depends on the ideas of Martin Luther. The bent of his mind determined how far the revolt would go. That revolt was more ecclesiastical than theological, except in the fundamental difference of Protestant dependence on faith for salvation and Catholic dependence on the sacraments of the Church. The basic principle on which Luther based his reconstruction of theology was that individual salvation from sin and its punishment was to be obtained by personal faith in Christ as a sufficient Savior rather than faith in the priest and the sacrament and the whole system of Catholicism.

The ablest theologian among the Lutherans was Philip Melancthon. A nephew of Reuchlin, he became while still a youth a teacher of the Greek New Testament at Wittenberg, and Luther came to rely on him for acute thinking and balanced judgment. Less emotional than Luther, he was able to see both sides of an issue, and more than once he was a mediating factor between the hostile forces of the Reformation. By his *Loci Communes* he shaped the Lutheran theology as Calvin did that of the Reformed churches of western Europe. He drew up the Augsburg Confession for the defense of the Lutheran faith, though he softened the distinctive differences from Catholicism more than Luther approved. His ability won for him the respect of the Protestants, and he was loved by Luther like a son. After Luther's death certain differences of opinion on theo-

logical points, which had been minimized by Melanchthon rather than provoke controversy with Luther, led to debates inside the Lutheran ranks and to party alignments which were not removed by the Formula of Concord, drawn up in 1577 to heal the divisions.

THE CONTROVERSIES OF LUTHER

By the year 1522 it looked as if Germany could safely be reckoned as won for Protestantism in spite of the condemnation at Worms. Luther had moved farther and farther away from the Catholic position, and the people followed him. The danger was that the movement would become too radical. While Luther was in the Wartburg certain radicals at Wittenberg proceeded to introduce reforms to which Luther had not yet agreed. Their leader was Carlstadt, one of the Wittenberg professors. He called upon the monks to leave the monasteries, and encouraged the priests to marry. He denounced the mass, and appropriated ecclesiastical revenues for a community chest. He administered the communion in both kinds, and preached from the pulpit in the dress of a layman. The civil authorities which had been sympathetic with Luther were disturbed and urged his return to Wittenberg. Assured of the support of the Elector Frederick he left the Wartburg, reappeared at Wittenberg, won back the people to his less radical position, and Carlstadt went into retirement. Luther resumed his teaching, in which he was happy. He enjoyed also the friendship of Melanchthon. Together they were a magnet to attract students from other countries, and through those students and through the writings of the professors the seeds of the evangelical faith were scattered widely.

A second controversy in which Luther was engaged was a discussion with Erasmus over the doctrine of free will. Erasmus believed with Pelagius that man himself had sufficient power of choice to work with God in his own salvation, while Luther with an experience of human helplessness akin to that of Augustine maintained that God was the author of man's salvation.

A third controversy developed over the meaning of the Lord's Supper. Luther discarded the Catholic opinion of transubstantiation, denying that the bread and wine were transformed into the body and blood of Christ, but he held to the idea of a real presence of Christ corporeally with the elements, even though there was no visible sign. This doctrine of consubstantiation was discarded by Carlstadt, and personal rancor precipitated an active controversy. This

became more serious when it involved another phase of the Protestant movement. This was the reformation of Ulrich Zwingli in the Swiss city of Zurich. Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, who was a supporter of Luther, thought it important that the two movements should be united for mutual strength and he brought about a conference at Marburg in 1529 of the leaders on both sides. At this Marburg Colloquy, as it is called, both sides presented their cases, but Zwingli saw in the Supper only a simple memorial of Christ, while Luther, chalking on the table the words of Jesus: "This is my body," insisted on their literal interpretation and would not compromise with the Zwinglians. This had the unfortunate result of dividing the forces of Protestantism.

ORGANIZATION OF LUTHERANISM

For a considerable time the organization of the Lutherans was in a transitional state. It was uncertain whether the revolt from the Catholic Church was to be a permanent one. In certain communities evangelical worship took the place of Catholic forms; congregations renounced their allegiance to their old priests, and chose pastors of their own. While Luther was in the Wartburg he deliberated about the future of the movement. After his return to Wittenberg he began to cut out the most objectionable parts of the old worship. He retained the mass as the culmination of worship, but eliminated its significance as a sacrifice. Soon the German language replaced the Latin in the service. Luther declared that the people had a right to choose their own pastors. He was content to make innovations gradually. The cities were prompt to respond and local control made changes easy. The city councils followed the lead of courageous churches, and took the necessary legal measures for the abolition of images, relics, and other paraphernalia of the Catholic churches. In the service of worship the sermon assumed the principal place, for if personal faith was to be secured the stimulus of the spoken word was necessary. Luther provided homiletic helps for the church year. Some of the Catholic feasts were discarded, but the Lutherans still celebrated Christmas, Easter, and the other festivals which episcopal churches have retained.

Luther had no settled opinion on organization. Few Catholic bishops became Protestant, and Luther inclined at first to popular direction of religion, but the radical tendencies convinced him that it was better that the ruler should be the ultimate authority. Saxony

set the pace in reorganization, and other states followed. Visitors were appointed to survey religious conditions, and they found widespread ignorance among priests and people. Then instructions were issued for better religious education, and Luther prepared a Larger and a Shorter Catechism. The country was divided into districts with a superintendent in charge of each. The superintendent had administrative supervision over the local pastors, and was in his turn under the superior jurisdiction of the Elector.

THE PEASANTS' WAR AND THE ANABAPTISTS

The Lutheran movement brought into the open certain radical tendencies, both religious and social. The rural peasants had more than once broken into rebellion locally against the hard conditions of their lot. They hoped that the revolt against the Church might go farther and emancipate them from their feudal obligations to ecclesiastical and lay lords. An uprising resulted in the Peasants' War in 1524. There was much lawlessness and some loss of life, but the reprisals were more severe than the rebels deserved. They demanded little more than the right to the old medieval communal claims, but they were feared as socialists, promptly punished for their temerity by ruthless slaughter, and forced back into submission. They had to shoulder again the old burden and wait for better days. The most serious consequence of the uprising was the effect upon Luther. It drove him back upon his natural conservatism, made him fear the effects of radicalism upon his own movement, and turned him away from the principle of the private judgment of the individual. From that time Luther was more disposed to give to the State the direction of religion.

The Anabaptists were the heirs of the evangelical spirit of the German brethren. Stirred by the Lutheran movement, they were more disposed to follow Luther's example of independent action, though they were not ready to join his movement. With a literal interpretation of the Bible they reached certain conclusions that were quite unconventional. They were dubbed Anabaptists because they rebaptized those who joined their company, and they refused baptism to infants on the ground that they were not old enough to have conscious faith. They chose their own religious leaders and organized tentatively on a presbyterian basis, rejecting the authority of the Catholic Church.

Two men represented divergent types of Anabaptism. Balthasar

Hübmaier was their leader in theological disputation. At Zurich with other trained disputants he discussed with Zwingli the merits of Anabaptism. Driven from there he settled in Austria and guided the fortunes of the movement until the authorities burned him at the stake as a heretic. Thousands of his followers fled to Moravia, where for a time they were unmolested and developed socialistic enterprises which prospered. John Denck was the representative of mystical religion and is related in his spiritual attitude to the later Quakers of England, as Hübmaier anticipated the English Baptists. Denck was admired and loved and had the ability to lead his people wisely, but illness carried him off also at the outset of his career. Without able leadership and suspected of social radicalism, because some of them joined the Peasants' War, the Anabaptists were speedily crushed in Germany, though they were numerous in that country and were found extensively from Poland to Holland and south through Switzerland and the Austrian Tyrol. Lutherans and Catholics alike opposed them. But Anabaptists persisted under another name in the Netherlands, where they took the name of Mennonites from their leader Menno Simons.

In general the Anabaptists were peaceful and inoffensive, but their movement was a dragnet for disaffected persons of various sorts, and while it was primarily a religious movement it included some who were fanatical in their anticipation of the second coming of Christ and eager to hurry it along. These were prominent in the Rhine valley, and at Münster in Westphalia. They set up a millennial kingdom and staged disgraceful scenes of anarchy, ruining the reputation of the Anabaptists everywhere.

The Anabaptist movement left few permanent results and in most respects it was medieval in character, but it was a symptom of radical dissatisfaction with the old order in the Church and society, a dissatisfaction that reached far down into the lower stratum of the population. Religiously it was an anticipation of the Independent movement elsewhere, and at least it put a wholesome emphasis on personal religion.

EVENTS FROM SPEYER TO THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION

Meantime events had been occurring in the relation between the Lutherans and the empire. In 1524 an imperial diet had met at Nuremberg when pressure was brought upon the princes and cities to carry out the Edict of Worms, but they evaded the responsibility.

Then followed a hostile alignment of forces in Catholic and Lutheran parties, ominous for the future peace of Germany. Austria and Bavaria were Catholic leaders, Saxony and Hesse Protestant leaders. In 1526 at the Diet of Speyer the policy was adopted of leaving each state to direct its own religious affairs, an indication of later compromises. This course was due to the difficulty of strong measures against the Protestants in the absence of the emperor, who was forced to give time and resources to the defense of central Europe against the Turks. It may have been thought also that it was well to temporize until a church council should meet. Fortune favored the emperor in his wars, and by 1529 it was possible to take stronger measures against the Lutherans. In that year a second diet was held at Speyer and the compromise abolished. The protest of the Lutherans gave them the name of Protestants. Although properly the name belongs to the Lutherans only, it has been used generally for all non-Catholic Christians.

By the year 1530 the Emperor Charles again was more conciliatory, and at the Diet of Augsburg the Protestants at his invitation set forth their principles in the Augsburg Confession. This was prepared by Melancthon on the basis of previous consultations of leaders and formulations of articles of faith. The Confession did not win the approval of the Diet, but it became the accepted standard of doctrine for all the Lutherans, and has continued to be their basic platform.

BETWEEN TWO AUGSBURG DIETS

For the next ten years the emperor was so busy outside of Germany and so dependent on both Catholics and Protestants for support that he could take no drastic action against the Lutherans. Lutheranism gained in the number of recruits, but its vitality declined. The conflicts of the time were political rather than religious. The Protestants organized the Smalcald League in 1531, which became a rallying point for all opposition to the emperor. The Turkish danger forced another truce at Nuremberg the next year, when even the pope was willing to make concessions. Ducal Saxony and Brandenburg went over to the Protestant side. In 1546 Luther breathed his last at Eisleben, his birthplace. He had married and reared a family with which he lived happily at Wittenberg. The year of his death brought an outbreak between the emperor and the Smalcald League, and northern Germany was compelled to acknowledge

defeat, but friction developed between pope and emperor, and Charles decided to await the action of the Catholic council which at last was in session at Trent (1545). Meantime he arranged an *interim*, or *modus vivendi*, for the states of the empire. Political difficulties continued to threaten and a treaty was patched up between the hostile parties at Passau in 1552; three years later a diet met at Augsburg and decided definitely on a permanent peace based on the principle that the prince of each of the German states should decide whether the lawful religion of his territory should be Catholic or Lutheran, and all who would not conform must leave the country. It was agreed that Protestants should retain all lands which had been transferred to them before the Treaty of Passau, but that henceforth all lands held by converts to Protestantism should be left to the Catholic Church. The Peace of Augsburg of 1555 was not observed faithfully and later friction led to the Thirty Years' War, but the principle that the prince should decide the religion of his people was reiterated at the Peace of Westphalia which ended that war in 1648.

EXTENSION OF LUTHERANISM BEYOND THE GERMAN FRONTIERS

Denmark, Norway, and Sweden had been the last countries of western Europe to be converted to Christianity, but once converted they remained quiescent in their Catholicism. After a long period of separate political government they were combined by the Union of Calmar in 1397, a compact which lasted until 1523. Denmark was the dominant member of the combination, but Sweden was restive and at last broke away. Everywhere the clergy were powerful, and the great prelates were so wealthy and masterful as to excite the envy of the nobles.

It was almost inevitable that Lutheranism should find its way to Scandinavia. The people were Teutonic in race as were the Germans and their languages were similar. The countries were neighbors, and Scandinavian students were pupils of Lutheran professors at Wittenberg. The sovereign of Denmark coquetted with the new religion among the people for the benefit which it might bring him against the clergy and the powerful members of the nobility. He was unfortunate enough to lose his crown, but his successor after a time came out openly for the Reformation, which was spreading rapidly in the cities. Preaching and Bible study in the vernacular were means of Protestant growth, and in 1536 a Danish diet at

Copenhagen made Lutheranism the religion of Denmark. In Norway the tendency to Protestantism was not so strong, but Norway was a vassal of Denmark, so that the law applied there. Lutheran preachers were active in bringing about the necessary changes. Even in far-distant Iceland a Catholic bishop who had come under Luther's influence at Wittenberg favored Lutheranism. Strong opposition was felt for years, but the Reformation won the victory.

In Sweden, too, Lutheran students spread Lutheran ideas. But it was Gustavus Vasa, the political liberator of his country from Denmark, who brought about the definite adoption of Lutheranism by Sweden. He was moved by the spectacle of the increased wealth which might come to him from the rich churchmen, and they were opposed to his efforts at independence. He conciliated the nobles by sharing the church plunder with them, and he suppressed all disaffection among the people. The date of the diet which wrought most of the changes was 1527. Through the development of natural resources Sweden began to forge ahead, and a century later it became the leader of the Protestant forces of northern Europe against the Catholics in the Thirty Years' War.

Finland had been under Swedish control for centuries and Gustavus Vasa found it possible to introduce Protestantism there, as in Sweden. Students from Wittenberg again were agents of the change. The people had to learn slowly to appreciate the innovations. Other peoples along the Baltic felt similar influences. Poland could have been made Protestant if it had not been for dissensions among the religious insurgents and the energy of the Jesuits who turned back the Protestant tide. In Prussia the University of Königsberg became a center of Lutheran propaganda, and printed literature went thence into Poland. Much controversy ensued, but Lutheranism persisted. In Livonia, Esthonia, and Lithuania politics and religion were mixed in sordid fashion. All of them became absorbed into the Russian Empire, but Lutheranism did not perish.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GERMAN REFORMATION

By 1555 the struggle of Lutheranism for recognition had come to an end on the checkerboard of Germany. The emperor had been forced to admit that Lutherans had a right to exist, but the Lutheran principle of private judgment in matters of religion had given way to the principle that the State was the guardian of religion, and that the secular princes should exercise the right of control that had

belonged formerly to the Catholic bishops. The result was to make the Lutheran Church so dependent on the State that it lost its native vigor, and, free from the responsibility of developing its organization, it devoted itself to threshing out theological questions until its spiritual life was choked.

Luther had aroused Christendom to see the errors of Roman Catholicism. He had proposed a new principle of faith in God's willingness to forgive as revealed by the word of God, and had broken the shackles of Roman control. But he had not freed religion. There was many a survival of Catholic faith and practice, and the liberty of the Christian man was taken away by placing the Church under the control of the State. Yet Luther had commenced the great task of freeing the individual from bondage to external authority, a task which only time and patience could carry out. He was by no means the sole force of the religious movement that bore his name. Melanchthon was his superior as a theologian. He had his personal faults. But he was the prophet of Protestantism, and as such he is the outstanding figure of his times and one of the principal names in the annals of history.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. In what respects is it proper to speak of the period about 1500 as dynamic? Give evidences.
2. Explain social conditions in Germany.
3. Make a character study of Erasmus, comparing him with Melanchthon.
4. Who were the Brethren?
5. Why was the sale of indulgences so objectionable to Luther? How did he oppose it?
6. Trace the progress of Luther's thinking.
7. What is your estimate of Martin Luther as man, scholar, and prophet?
8. Why could not the German and Swiss reform movements work together?
9. How would you appraise the Anabaptists?
10. Trace the principal events of the German Reformation from 1530 to 1555. What was the real significance of the whole movement?

For class discussion and debate

1. Was Luther justified in opposing the Peasants' War?
2. Could the Catholic Church have prevented the Reformation?
3. Were the Renaissance and the Reformation helpful to each other?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. Letters of Obscure Men.
2. Luther's German Bible.
3. The Moravian Anabaptists.
4. *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis.

For longer written essays

1. The contributions of Erasmus to the Christian Renaissance.
2. The Brethren in the Netherlands.
3. Luther's Ninety-five Theses.
4. Luther's *On the Liberty of a Christian Man*.
5. Balthasar Hübmaier.
6. The theology of Melancthon.

For conference and examination

1. A study of Lutheran theology as compared with Augustinianism.

For maps and tables

1. A map of Germany and its neighbors.
2. An outline of the steps taken to crush Luther.

READING REFERENCES

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 NICHOLS. Epistles of Erasmus

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LINDSAY. History of the Reformation
 SMITH, P. Age of the Reformation
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CHAPTER XVII

THE REFORMED CHURCHES

ULRICH ZWINGLI

THE city of Lucerne and its beautiful lake are among the favorite resorts of travelers to Switzerland. In the year 1291, when the fall of the Latin Kingdom brought to an end the crusading expeditions, three peasant districts of that section of the country, having won their independence from their feudal lords of Austria, federated for mutual defense. In 1315 they fought the famous battle of Morgarten Pass and insured their freedom from the Hapsburg princes of Austria. To these three forest cantons were soon added five others, including Zurich and Berne. Schwyz, the most vigorous of the original three, gave its name to the confederation which is still called Switzerland. Other districts were added later.

In connection with the Reformation two Swiss cities became specially prominent. These were first Zurich under the leadership of Zwingli, and then Geneva under the masterful authority of John Calvin. Zurich was on the through route of travel and trade, and exposed to the German influence. Foreign representatives to the Swiss Government commonly lived there. The nobles and wealthy men of the city ruled through a Great Council of two hundred members, nominally representing the guilds of the city. Six thousand persons lived within the walls, and there were thirty-five rural dependencies with more than forty thousand population. In 1519, two years after Luther published his theses, Ulrich Zwingli was made priest of the Great Minster at Zurich. He had been born a few weeks after Luther and educated at Basle and Berne and then at Vienna, and made friends among the humanists. He was attracted to a clerical life because of its opportunities for study, and became parish priest at Glarus. Later his friends secured him the appointment to Zurich.

In time he became hostile in his attitude toward the requirements of the Catholic religion. He opposed the ascetic life, saint worship, and the belief in purgatory. He saw the abuses of the

indulgence system. He accepted the Bible as the supreme authority in religion, and Christ as a sufficient Savior. He preached these as theological truths, but he was morally lax, and did not know religion by personal experience. He broke up an indulgence traffic in Zurich, and soon felt the force of Luther's example. Illness sobered him, and he became interested in bringing about reforms in the city. By 1523 he was debating before the city council and in public the abolition of images in the churches, and contending that the Lord's Supper was only a memorial of Jesus. As a consequence the council abolished images, the mass, and the monasteries. Morals courts were set up to take the place of the church courts in cases of conduct and marriage. Zwingli became the power behind the council. He was a humanist first and a reformer afterwards, but his zeal carried him so far as to ban pilgrimages, processions, fasts and festivals, confessions and penance, and even the use of organs in the churches.

In most respects Zwingli was a friendly, likable man, more human than most of the reformers and more modern in some of his ideas. He was different from Luther in his outlook on life, in his religious experience, in his aims and his methods. Luther was naturally conservative, hoping to save what he could of the old system unless the Bible discredited it. Zwingli was more iconoclastic, ready to do away with everything that the Bible did not enjoin. Luther was a distinctly religious reformer; Zwingli was patriot as well as reformer, ready to fight for his political principles.

THE ALIGNMENT OF THE CANTONS

Naturally the Catholic Church was not pleased with the course of events. Catholics had argued against the changes but were overborne. The pope took matters more calmly than in the case of Luther. Zurich was only a single city, Zwingli was a popular priest in Zurich, and the pope could not afford to alienate the Swiss and lose the good Swiss soldiers that he hired. The troubles that arose were not due to the pope, but to the hostility of the Catholic cantons, which threatened war on Zurich. The Swiss Confederation was being segregated into two groups: the states that desired democratic government, moral and ecclesiastical reforms, and the abolition of mercenary customs, and those that were aristocratic in politics, loyally Catholic, and inclined to hold on to foreign pensions and military payments.

The most important city won for reform was Berne. It was

located between Zurich and Geneva, and it controlled a larger rural area than any other of the Swiss cities. Preachers of reform, including a Franciscan friar, laid the foundations of a reformation in the city, and gradually a majority of members of the city government became friendly enough to reform ideas to arrange for a disputation in the city. In this public way an issue was usually brought to a focus after the council had made its decision. Few Catholics were willing to debate, but Zwingli came from Zurich and won the decision for the reform program. Sweeping changes were made as in Zurich, and Berne was committed to the Reformation in 1528.

Basle had accepted the Reformation through the influence of Oecolampadius. He was a friend of Erasmus and had studied with Reuchlin. He had come to Basle as a lecturer in the local university where he stirred up controversy, and the citizens requested that public disputations be held. Oecolampadius was given power to carry through such reforms as could be justified from the Bible. Within three years, aided by a firm friendship with Zwingli, Oecolampadius was able to abolish the mass and put the images out of the churches.

By 1527 a Protestant league and a Catholic union confronted each other, though some of the small cantons had decided on a policy of toleration. Zwingli hoped for German and French alliances; the Catholics made terms with Austria. Zwingli urged a resort to arms, the Protestants were successful, and Zwingli reached the height of his prestige. He planned revolution at Geneva and pushed the opposition to the Catholics. Then they rallied and defeated the army of Zurich at Cappel in 1531, and Zwingli was killed. Leadership passed presently to Geneva.

Zwinglian ideas spread over the frontier into southern Germany. Strassburg joined the league with Zurich and Constance, and Bucer, the local leader, accepted the opinions of Zwingli. After the defeat at Cappel the city joined the Lutherans, and the Protestants were strong enough to suppress Catholic worship. Strassburg became a refuge to English Protestants fleeing from persecution under Queen Mary Tudor.

FRENCH SWITZERLAND

Western Switzerland borders France and its people have many of the French characteristics. The Reformation came to Geneva and its neighborhood through the preaching of William Farel, a son of

the French nobility and a friend of Lefèvre, the French humanist. Because of his radical tendencies he was not permitted to preach in France, and he went to Basle, where he became active in religious discussion. There he organized a church of French Protestant refugees, but he was too restless to remain long in one place. He was one of the disputants at Berne, when that city was considering its future policy. Flitting here and there for a time, he evangelized Lausanne and ultimately went to Geneva.

GENEVA

Geneva is the gateway from Switzerland into France. At the point where the lake of Geneva empties into the Rhone it was located conveniently for trade with all the neighbors of Switzerland. Many of the people were wealthy and the citizens were fond of pleasure, gay and frequently immoral. In 1504 a political revolt gave the city independence from the Catholic bishop, who was its real ruler. Government passed into the hands of a Little Council, the executive force, and a larger council in which matters were debated before being brought before the general assembly of the citizens. Luther's books found their way to Geneva, and the people were about ready for religious changes when Farel came to the city. In 1532 he was preaching in private houses, but he was hustled out of the city. Froment, another French evangelist, proselyted among some of the prominent women, and when he was molested he appealed to the Council of Berne, which used its influence to secure toleration in Geneva. Feelings were excited on both sides, but the reform movement gained ground. After disputations it was decided to make such changes as had been adopted at Zurich, Berne and Basle, and the bishop's office was declared vacant. Part of the property was used for hospitals, asylums, and prison reform. The outlying villages were evangelized, and it was forbidden to celebrate mass in any of them. Within the city morals were regulated and church attendance was required. Universal education was provided. The general assembly of the people approved of all these changes.

JOHN CALVIN

Farel was the recognized Protestant leader, but he did not possess the ability to organize the movement. Realizing his limitations, he seized an opportunity to enlist John Calvin, a French refugee who was in the city temporarily. Quite unexpectedly Calvin found him-

self drafted to lead an enterprise which became as widely known and as influential as the German movement of Luther.

Calvin was a native of Noyon in the French province of Picardy. Born in 1509, he was twenty-six years younger than Luther, and his enterprise at Geneva had the advantage of the early experience of the Protestant leaders in Germany, northern Switzerland, and England. Unlike Luther, he came from the middle class of the people, and he received a good education which included five years of theological study at Paris. Law and literature occupied his mind, but certain influences, including Luther's writings, turned his attention definitely to religion. He spoke of his conversion in 1533 as the result of divine illumination. There was nothing dramatic about the new conviction as with Luther. He was a scholar rather than a monk. Under the influence of Lefèvre he inclined to Protestantism, and in 1535 he was an exile from his native land for safety's sake. The French Government was not disposed to be tolerant of heretics. Basle gave him a quiet place for study, and he toiled at the preparation of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which he designed as a Protestant textbook of theology and published in 1536. He was not yet twenty-seven years old, but he had produced his literary masterpiece. With it he combined an Apology to the King of France, which gave Calvin such publicity that he became the recognized Protestant leader for his own country as he was soon to become at Geneva.

Presently Calvin was in Geneva for a night on his way to Strassburg, where he intended to remain. An interview with Farel persuaded him that his duty required him to stay in Geneva. At first he undertook religious education in a modest way, lecturing publicly on the letters of Paul, for which the Little Council gave him a small fee. Before long he engaged in public debates in Geneva and in Berne, which made him better known. He proved himself a good preacher as well as a skilled theologian, but the Reformation had reached the point where it needed organization in the city, and Calvin made his reputation as a master executive.

THE REFORMING PROCESS

As he surveyed the problems of the situation, it seemed to Calvin that three steps were necessary. The first was to purify the Church by discipline, the second to sort out the people by their religious preferences, and to prepare means of religious education. He recommended to the authorities to appoint men of good reputation to

investigate the conduct of citizens and to report unworthy individuals to the Church. If they were unrepentant they should be excommunicated; if scornful of the Church the civil power should reckon with them. His was the Puritan temper. His second plan, to separate the population into preference groups was to give him a basis for judgment as to how far reforms could go. For this test he provided a confession of faith, which the councils adopted. For the third purpose which he had in mind he prepared a catechism which contained the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, articles on the sacraments, and a summary of his *Institutes*. The result of the religious census was a majority decision for Calvin, but when he tried to enforce discipline he was met with determined opposition. Some of Calvin's reforms were rejected, and presently he lost his grip on the government and was banished from the city. The people would not stand for a taboo of music and festivals, dancing, cards, wine, and jolly weddings. They would not willingly substitute going to church and living soberly, and risking a ruthless penalty if they became lax.

Calvin went first to Basle and then to Strassburg, where he married and ministered to a church of French refugees. He introduced the practice of singing psalms, which had the same happy effect as Luther's hymns in Germany. Calvin wrote several hymns and published a small collection with psalms. Meantime matters had not been going well in Geneva, and at length Calvin's friends won control of the government and Calvin was invited to return and complete his reforms. He insisted on certain measures, such as the creation of a morals court, known as the consistory, composed of ministers and elders of the churches. Its function would be the oversight of the daily lives of the citizens. From that time Calvin depended on the consistory and the Little Council as his instruments of control, without holding office himself other than that of minister. Instead of democratically encouraging frequent meetings of the general assembly of citizens he arranged that the assembly should discuss only the matters that had been brought before the Council of Two Hundred, and that nothing should be brought before that larger council until it had been passed on by the Little Council. In effect Calvin was dictator of the city.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH ORGANIZATION

It was Calvin's theory that the Church was superior to the State and could demand the assistance of the State for accomplishing its

ends, an understanding that was more like the papal contentions of Rome than the state control of religion in Germany. The organization of the Church should be such as should make easy the enforcement of puritan discipline, but Calvin did not wish to imitate the episcopal forms of the Catholic Church. The presbyterian system that he worked out rested on the theory that the Church should have ample power to govern itself, that this should be done in aristocratic fashion by those who were best qualified, and that the discipline which seemed so important should be enforced by a system of church courts.

Calvin approved of four kinds of church leaders. The first was the pastor. The second was the teacher, whose function was to educate the people in correct thinking and to superintend the educational system of the city. The third was the elder, a layman. Twelve of these were to be chosen by the councils, and together with several of the ministers they constituted the consistory. This body met every week under Calvin's direction, disciplined individuals, and if necessary turned them over to the civil authorities for punishment. All the inhabitants who accepted the Calvinistic teachings were members of the churches and under the jurisdiction of the consistory, and were taught and judged according to Scripture. The fourth leader was the deacon, a layman like the elder. The deacons had charge of charity in the Church and the city. They were chosen like the elders. The consistory was the basis of a more extensive presbyterian system in countries like France and Scotland, which were not limited to a small area, but the one court of discipline served the purpose in Geneva. The Little Council was subservient to it and in spite of opposition, at times determined, the régime continued rigidly obedient to the iron will of Calvin.

PURITAN TYRANNY

Such offensive censorship did not succeed in purifying the city, but it had the effect of voluntary banishment by many discontented citizens, and over fifty persons were executed within four years. Calvin secured the banishment of Castellio, a scholar whom he had brought from Strassburg to direct education in the city, because Castellio did not agree with Calvin on some points and charged him with tyranny. Bolzec, a physician who had come to Geneva, disagreed with Calvin's doctrine of predestination and he was banished. Still more damaging to the reputation of Calvin was the execution of Michael Serve-

tus. Servetus was a Spanish physician of eminent ability who had aroused hostility in Germany because he had denied the doctrine of the Trinity, which Protestants accepted as well as Catholics. He was arrested in France, to which he had gone, but escaped and started for Italy. But he was foolish enough to stop at Geneva, though he knew that Calvin was against him. He was promptly arrested, and Calvin pushed through the indictment of heresy against him until the Little Council gave authority to burn Servetus at the stake. That act of tyranny, though Calvin disavowed any desire to have him put to death by burning, has been regarded as the darkest blot on the reformer's reputation. It was the most conspicuous example of his ruthlessness.

Calvin was a man of great ability, but narrow-minded and severe. He was intensely human for all that, humble in his attitude toward God, yet arrogant and hot-tempered toward men. He was not lovable in disposition, though he had firm friends and admirers. He carried on his responsibilities at Geneva for ten years after the death of Servetus, for the challenge of his opponents was broken. His courage and fearlessness were an inspiration to those who were fighting the battle of Protestantism. During that time Protestants came from France and England for refuge, conspicuous among them John Knox of Scotland, and they strengthened his commanding position. Worn out by his austere and burdened life, he died in 1564 at the age of fifty-five, respected if not actually feared, while many sighed with relief at his passing.

CALVIN AS A COMMUNITY ENGINEER

In spite of the individualistic emphasis of Calvin's religion and his other-worldliness, he did not overlook the material interest of the people. This world was to him of small value compared with the world beyond, and many were its snares and deceits, but the puritan was industrious, self-denying and thrifty. Calvin believed that the Devil stirred up mischief among the idle, and he encouraged the Little Council to aid the weaving industry. This was the easier to accomplish because of the presence in the city of many skilled workers among the refugees.

Calvin contributed not a little to the business prosperity that became characteristic of mercantile interests in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The puritan thrift resulted in the accumulation of wealth, and there was great demand for capital as new oppor-

tunities opened consequent upon oceanic discoveries. The rewards gained from capitalistic enterprise encouraged further saving for investment. In these ways the ascetic practices of puritans, wherever they followed the principles of Calvinism, gave them rich reward and capitalism became indispensable to industry and commerce.

CALVIN AS AN EDUCATOR

Though Calvin repressed the will of the ordinary man, he stimulated his mentality. No religious system demanded so much of the thinking powers as Calvinism. Ignorant men could accept it, but they could not appreciate it without an effort of the understanding. Calvin bade men look into the council chamber of the Most High, learn the plan of salvation, and believe intelligently in the individual plan which the Almighty had made for his personal life, and then live daily as under the eye of God. All that caused serious, thought-provoking hours when one was conscious of the august dignity of life.

It is not surprising that Calvin emphasized education at Geneva. The human understanding of the laity must be developed and an intelligent ministry must be trained. He anticipated no difficulty in getting pupils for the educational system that he planned. The lower grades would attract the boys and young men of the city and vicinity, while the higher studies would bring disciples of Calvin from farther away, especially from France. Only small salaries could be paid instructors, but Calvin was able to secure hundreds of contributions from the people who were interested. Several educational leaders came to Geneva because of quarrels about discipline at Lausanne, and they fitted into the educational plans. The Academy, which was the University of Geneva with a preparatory department, became thus the foremost school of the French-speaking Protestants. Calvin believed thoroughly in the linguistic discipline and had Greek placed on a level with Latin, which was a Protestant innovation. As Calvinism spread through western Europe the Academy at Geneva attracted more and more students until twelve hundred were in attendance at the time of Calvin's death. A certificate from Geneva was good educational currency everywhere.

CALVIN AS A THEOLOGIAN

Calvin was a devout student of the Bible, and a competent exegete. His lectures on theology and his *Institutes* were based on

Scriptural exposition. The purpose of the *Institutes* was to interpret the Bible before it was to systematize theology. In the Bible God had spoken, and God held the central place in Calvin's system. To Calvin God was primarily a sovereign. The prominent national sovereignty of that day was carried over into the conception of God's relation to man. And God was an absolute sovereign with a perfect right to direct the lives of his subjects. As the citizens of Geneva could not control their own lives while Calvin was the local kinglest, so in his thought God ordered all things according to His sovereign will. Seeing omnisciently the beginning and end of all things He foreordained the destiny of mankind, electing whom He would to visit by his grace for their salvation. This was the teaching of Bucer, the reformer of Strassburg, which he had taken over from Zwingli, but at first Calvin did not accept the logical conclusion of Bucer that God predestines to destruction those whom he did not elect to salvation. But in the second edition of his *Institutes* Calvin carried the doctrine to the extent of making God responsible for the Fall, as if it were decreed, not permitted. This in effect was to make God the author of human sin and to excuse man's misconduct.

The corollary to the doctrine of divine sovereignty was the doctrine of human helplessness. This made it necessary for God to take the initiative in an approach to man by His prevenient grace, a grace which is irresistible if it lays hold of a man. Calvin's theology, which was so much like Augustine's, found a larger place for Christ than for the Church as the agent of salvation. By faith in his sacrifice, a faith which was possible through the gift of the Holy Spirit, the sinner is justified, baptism makes regeneration complete, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in which Christ is spiritually present nourishes the soul. The Church had the teaching of the word of God and the administration of the sacraments, and it was believed to be as difficult to get to heaven outside of Calvin's Church as it was outside of the Catholic Church. The whole body of the people make up the visible Church, but the invisible Church of God's elect is composed of those who obey the divine commands, without question or complaint. In the church control was held by the élite among the elect, for Calvin distrusted the common man. Calvin was no democrat, but modern democracy owes much to Geneva because of the belief that every person was on the same level before God and because a representative democracy was worked out in the presbyterian system of organization.

Calvin's theology was in harmony with the world view of his age. God was the dread Deity whom Catholics approached through saints and the Virgin. He sought his own glory first, and his justice demanded the punishment of those who were unwilling subjects. Instead of being immanent in a universe that spoke of patient creative intelligence, he was a distant critic of an evil generation in bondage to Satan. Puritan tendencies maintained the doctrine for centuries in Holland, Scotland, England and America, but as the philosophy of life changed Calvinism softened until it lost its hold upon men. But to the puritan it was a comfort to feel himself in God's keeping, to believe that every life has its purpose, and that God's will is to be done in spite of any effort that man can put forth. That was a stronghold in days of peril and persecution and the granite of puritan character.

RELIGION IN FRANCE

Since Calvin was a Frenchman and Geneva was on the French border the Reformation in Geneva interested many in France, and not a few Protestants found refuge at Geneva or were among Calvin's parishioners in Strassburg. But changes in religion had begun some time earlier. At first thought it seems strange that the Reformation did not come in France before it did in Germany. France was a more united nation, and it had insisted on its Gallican liberties from the pope. It had the intellectual leadership of the University of Paris, and it felt the influence of the Renaissance. But nationalism, Gallicanism, and humanism were not enough to produce a reformation. Both the issue and the leader were lacking.

Two years before Luther published his Ninety-five Theses Francis I became King of France. Selfish and pleasure loving, he delighted to annoy the Emperor Charles V, his successful rival for the imperial office. He was friendly to the Renaissance and indifferent to the Reformation when it came in Germany. With the pope he made an agreement by which they divided the liberties of the Gallican Church. Bishops were to be nominated by the pope and he was to have some of the church revenues, but the king had his share too and selected the French clergy. This arrangement made Francis friendly to the existing order. At first inclined to be tolerant to religious non-conformists, he drifted into a policy of persecution. Several of the royal family were sympathetic with revolutionary ideas

in religion, but the general policy of the government was one of expediency, playing off one religious party against another.

THE FIRST PROTESTANTS

The sources of the reformed movement in France were the writings of Luther, and a group of Christian humanists, known as the group of Meaux. Its leader was Lefèvre (1450-1536), who translated the New Testament into French and taught those who would listen to him that the essence of religion is spiritual. Lefèvre was essentially a Catholic mystic, but as such was not fitted to become a progressive leader of a militant religious movement. Bishop Briçonnet of Meaux was a sympathetic member of the group, but too timid to become a revolutionist. Margaret d'Angoulême, a sister of the king, liked the ideas of the Christian humanists, but she was no strong leader. Farel was a member of the group for a time. In spite of the patronage of the king's sister the group of Meaux was suspected of heresy, and the Sorbonne, the theological school at Paris, which had taken over most of the theological teaching of the University of Paris, asserted that heretics must be punished with censures and if necessary with fire. The Parlement of Paris, which as a court with power to register the royal edicts had virtually legislative power but was not the national parliament, demanded the surrender of Luther's books, and arrests and burnings followed. The group of Meaux was broken up and Lefèvre fled to Strassburg, but Lutheranism filtered through the country.

Calvin was then a boy of twelve. It was not until 1533 that he was converted and shortly left France because of his connection with certain radical statements of Nicholas Cop, rector of the University of Paris, against the Catholic doctrine of good works. More powers were given to the courts against heretics. The Catholics were provoked by the posting of certain Protestant placards against the mass and by acts of vandalism. The king broke assurances made long time before to Waldensians that they should not be molested, and they were inhumanly persecuted. Fourteen Protestants seized at a meeting in Meaux were tortured and burned. Nevertheless Protestantism increased. It cannot be said, however, that it was ever a popular movement as in Germany, and the movement lacked leadership. It became entangled with the political fortunes of the king and rival members of the nobility, and was injured by its character as a

movement of the aristocracy, though of course it included all kinds of people among its followers.

PARTY LEADERS

The Guise family was the principal leader of the Catholic forces. One was a cardinal, another a military leader, and Mary, a sister, married James V of Scotland and became the mother of Mary Queen of Scots. The Guise family could be depended on to take drastic action against Protestants whenever opportunity offered. A rival family was that of Coligny. One of three brothers was Admiral of France. The family championed the Protestant cause, as the Guises defended the Catholic. A third family was that of the Bourbons, destined to give to France its famous kings of a later day, particularly Louis XIV. This family was related to French royalty. Its members were more lukewarm to religion and disposed to put expediency before conviction. Quite unprincipled was Catherine de Medici, of the notorious Medici family of Italy. She became queen upon the accession of her husband, Henry II, at the death of Francis I in 1547. As queen mother of three youthful kings who ruled in succession after Henry's death she virtually controlled the royal policy, and she was responsible for the terrible massacre of St. Bartholomew, which was a severe blow to the Protestants.

THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL

By 1560 the Protestants had thirty-six fully organized churches besides twenty-one hundred conventicles, and the year before they had even dared to hold a Synod of churches at Paris. The Synod adopted a confession of faith called the Gallican Confession, and adopted a model of church organization and discipline, which included a partial development of Genevan presbyterianism. Henry II died in the same year and the prospect of a weak sovereign encouraged nobles in sympathy with Protestantism to show their friendliness openly, and many middle-class people showed a disposition to criticize both Church and State. Soon the nation was plunged into civil war over religious differences. As a semipolitical movement it was a question whether Protestantism should be permitted to survive.

The strife was characterized by cunning, duplicity, assassination and massacre. Foreigners were hired to fight, cities were held for ransom, the countryside was devastated. The Protestants usually lost

in pitched battles. War unleashed the lowest passions, and France never suffered worse from Germany than at the hands of her own people. Most of the Huguenots, as the Protestants came to be called, were of higher moral quality than their opponents, and many of them were among the most useful citizens of France. When they were driven out of the country as a measure of Catholic vengeance, the nation received a blow from which it was a long time recovering.

The climax of the war was the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, which was arranged by Catherine de Medici on the occasion of a wedding that was expected to end the strife. Large numbers of Huguenots were in the city when a night attack was made upon them. So many of the leaders died in Paris or elsewhere that the Huguenots never recovered their strength though the war went on until Henry of Navarre became French king, and in 1598 succeeded in adjusting the relations between both parties by deserting the Protestant cause for Catholic support, and by the Edict of Nantes announced a policy of toleration. That wise policy made possible a revival of national prosperity, but nearly a century later Louis XIV was unwise enough to revoke the edict and large numbers of Huguenots went into banishment. The Gallicanism of the French Catholics might have seemed favorable to Protestant success, or at least to such a national Church as Henry VIII set up in England, but the people were good Catholics, not given to independent thinking and not friendly to such political insurgency as the Huguenots sometimes displayed. These reasons together with the attitude of the kings account for the failure of French Protestantism.

POLITICS AND RELIGION IN THE NETHERLANDS

The people in the Netherlands were not a unit in race or in government. The northern provinces were peopled by the Dutch, a Teutonic folk, the middle provinces by the Flemish, of similar extraction, and the southern provinces by Celts who spoke French. At the time of the Reformation all parts of the country owed allegiance to Spain. The religion was Catholic but the Renaissance and its lay schools found a place in the country and the Dutch were interested in the prohibited writings of Luther. Anabaptism made its way into the Netherlands, appearing in its two forms in the peaceful Mennonites, followers of Menno Simons, a converted priest, and the revolutionary millennarians led by Melchior Hoffman. Anabaptists were persecuted, but the Mennonite organization survived.

The millennarians shared in the insurrection of Münster, and thus lost any standing which they might have possessed. That Calvinism should make its way down the Rhine was inevitable, and that form of Protestantism became dominant though Catholicism was the faith of the crowd.

Such was the religious complexion of the country when Charles V abdicated his crown in 1555 to his son, Philip II. Philip was a rigid Catholic and a political autocrat. His father had had trouble with certain of the Dutch cities which were jealous of their civil charter privileges. Philip had no intention of permitting either civil or religious liberty. His determined policy provoked rebellion under William, Prince of Orange, who for sixteen years carried on the struggle until assassinated by his enemies. The heroism of the Dutch won them deserved applause from friend and foe, and at last secured the independence of the seven northern provinces, which fought the war through.

Meantime the Dutch Protestants who admired Calvin organized themselves into churches on the model of the French Huguenots. They held presbyterian synods, took for themselves the Heidelberg Catechism of the Rhine provinces as a statement of the Catholic faith, and adopted the Belgic Confession as the creed of the churches. This resembled the Helvetic Confession of the western German Calvinists. Later at Emden, the religious center, the Dutch Church perfected its machinery of local consistories, the governing body of ministers and elders in every church, district presbyteries which in the Netherlands were called classes, and synods for regional bodies. At first the religious leaders favored the independence of the Church from the State, but that policy proved impracticable. Religious and political interests were too entangled to be separated, and union of Church and State became complete in 1619. William of Orange was tolerant of Lutherans and Anabaptists if they were willing to forego open propaganda, but Catholics were forbidden public worship and office holding until the time of the French Revolution. While civil war lasted all Protestants were anathema to Spaniards in power and the fires of martyrdom burned.

THE SCOTCH REFORMATION

No place in western Europe was too remote to feel the effects of the Continental Reformation. Scotland off on the edge of Europe was affected by the various phases of the movement, but the Genevan

revolution had the largest influence. The people who lived in the land of blue lochs and cold gray hills were independently minded then as now. The highlanders kept their rough valor by practicing their feuds. They had bowed to Christianity centuries earlier when Irish missionaries preached the cross and they preserved that allegiance. The lowland farmers were under the influence of the landed nobles, and these men were masters of a corrupt Church which owned a third of the kingdom. Selfishness, irreverence and immoral conduct among the clergy were worse than in most countries and in time they provoked reaction in Scotland as elsewhere. Protestant influences began to seep through from the Continent by way of trade routes and the universities. Books and pamphlets, ballads and plays, teaching and preaching, had each its part in sowing the seeds of religious revolt, and parliamentary prohibitions of Protestant literature were ineffective.

Patrick Hamilton, a university-bred Scotch noble, caught Lutheranism and gave his life for the faith. George Wishart was another convert who had been inoculated with the Reformed virus on the Continent, and who returned home to preach his convictions until he too was seized, tried and burned. A companion of Wishart on his preaching tours, John Knox, dared to preach at St. Andrews, but presently was a prisoner on a French war galley, which had helped to suppress a local insurrection in the city. Growing sympathy with Protestant ideas created a party hostile to Catholic France and friendly to England, which by that time was coquetting with the new order of things. French influence sent Princess Mary to the French court to marry the heir to the French throne. Later as Mary Queen of Scots she was involved in the Reformation.

JOHN KNOX

Two years after Mary had gone to France Knox was freed by the intercession of the English Government and went to England for a time because it was not safe for him in Scotland. Knox was a son of the common people, but he had obtained an education at the University of Glasgow and became a priest and at one time a private tutor. He came to like Luther's teaching of justification by faith. He found an opportunity to preach religion as he understood it until he had to take refuge on the Continent upon the accession of the Catholic queen Mary Tudor. A growing interest in Calvin sent him to Geneva where he became Calvin's understudy. He found

congenial occupation in shepherding a flock of English refugees who like him sought asylum for their advanced ideas in religion. But while he was so long absent from Scotland the cause of the Reformation had won over a considerable number of the nobles in Scotland, and he was urged to come back and assume the leadership of the movement. They had met in Edinburgh and united in a covenant to maintain their principles, and became known as Scotch Covenanters. When Knox arrived in Scotland, he found the queen mother who was regent for Mary engaged in a trial of strength with the Protestant nobles, and he threw himself energetically into the conflict.

There was a meaning to the events of those years which far transcended the rivalry between parties in Scotland. It was a time when European Protestantism was in danger of defeat all along the line. The French Huguenots were in the thrall of civil war with its terrible tragedy in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The Dutch were commencing their long struggle for civil and religious freedom. The English had just been relieved of their Catholic queen, Mary Tudor, but their future was uncertain. Spain was determined that that future should be a dark one if the new queen, Elizabeth, decided for Protestantism. France was destined to remain Catholic. If Scotland maintained the French alliance, England was in serious danger from Catholics on both sides of her, besides the danger from Spain. If Scotland accepted Protestantism, she must abandon France for her old enemy, England, and England would be far stronger with no enemy at her back to face any foe from across the Channel. So the trial of strength between the regent and the Protestant nobles was watched eagerly by Spain and the pope, by England and France, and Knox was in the limelight as the champion of Protestantism.

ORGANIZATION OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH

The Government in Scotland was still Catholic and intolerant. At the risk of his life Knox went about the country winning the people until they broke out into rioting and damaged churches and monasteries. English lent their aid, and in the summer of 1560 the Scotch Protestants were able to make their own terms. Knox followed up the victory by putting through Parliament the abolition of Catholicism and all relations with Rome and the adoption of an intolerant policy toward Catholics. The next step was to arrange the necessary formularies for doctrine, worship, organization and discipline. The hand of Knox was in all the arrangements that were

made. He and five others at the request of Parliament drew up a confession of faith modeled upon Calvinism, and it was adopted by Parliament for the nation. The Confession was so satisfactory that the next request was for a book of discipline. In the strict puritan spirit of Geneva rules of conduct were prescribed, and a system of church courts was outlined to give force to the rules. This organization was similar to the system that had been worked out in the Netherlands, a kirk session locally corresponding to the consistory, a district presbytery, and a regional synod, and to crown all a general assembly for the whole nation. The discipline and the jurisdiction of the courts applied to all classes from the queen to a kitchen scullion, for all were on a level before God. Thus Scotch presbyterianism ill suited the doctrine of the divine right of kings which was championed before long by James, the son of Mary Queen of Scots. Knox wielded his moral authority from the pulpit of St. Giles's Church on High Street in Edinburgh, an authority far more forceful than that of Queen Mary who shortly returned to Scotland, a widow before she was twenty-one, and took up her residence at Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh, beyond the reach of Knox's voice but not of his denunciatory temper.

It remained for the reformer to provide a Book of Common Order for guidance in worship. This was called *Knox's Liturgy*, and had Calvin's Catechism attached and a metrical version of the Psalms. Family religion was enjoined with prayers morning and evening, and parents were to instruct their children in the religious fundamentals. Christians edified one another in weekly meetings known as prophesyings. Knox wins admiration for his industry and thoroughness. He died at last earning well the eulogy pronounced at his grave: "Here lies one who never feared the face of man."

QUESTIONS

For study

1. How does the career of Zwingli compare with that of Luther?
2. Who were Oecolampadius, Farel, and Bucer?
3. Make a character study of Calvin. Why should he have been especially friendly with Melancthon?
4. How would you compare the theology of Calvin with that of Augustine? With that of modern Methodists? Why has Calvinism lost ground?
5. What were the permanent contributions of Calvin to Protestant religion?

6. Was Calvin's puritan rigor needed? Was it justifiable?
7. Why did Protestantism fail in France? Trace its history there.
8. Compare William of Orange with Cromwell and Washington.
9. What were the achievements of John Knox?
10. Compare the values of the Lutheran and the Reformed movements.

For class discussion and debate

1. Was it necessary for the success of Zwingli that the city council should decide for the Reformation?
2. Resolved, that William the Silent was a greater political and military leader than George Washington.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. Basle and the Reformation.
2. William Farel.
3. The Academy at Geneva.
4. The Synod of Dort.

For longer written essays

1. The friendship of Calvin and Melancthon.
2. The Guise family in French and Scotch politics.
3. The theological ideas of Hugo Grotius.
4. A character study of John Knox.
5. Servetus.

For conference and examination

1. A comparison of Calvin's and Augustine's theology with that of Luther.

For maps and tables

1. A genealogical table of the French royal family.
2. A map of Switzerland and France.
3. The five points of Calvinism compared with the corresponding doctrines of Arminianism.

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CHAPTER XVIII

RELIGIOUS CHANGES IN ENGLAND

RELATIONS OF ENGLAND AND THE PAPACY

THE tidal disturbance that had swept so many of the people of northern Europe away from the ancient Church of Rome reached England with diminished force. It broke the connection of the English Church with the administrative system of Rome. Ultimately it affected doctrine and ritual. But it did not plow so deep a furrow in Church or society during the sixteenth century as in many parts of the Continent.

The relation of the English people to the Roman Catholic System had been unquestioned for more than eight centuries. The Roman discipline had been introduced by the mission of Augustine, the missionary monk, and the Synod of Whitby in 664 had imposed that discipline on the Celtic Catholics of northern England as well. Dioceses and parishes after the Continental fashion became ecclesiastical centers rather than the earlier monasteries. The Norman Conquest of the island made the connection with the Continent closer still. Clergy went back and forth, visiting Rome and catching her spirit, and more than once the Roman pope asserted his authority over the Church in England. But at the time when Henry IV, the German emperor, was submitting to Pope Gregory VII at Canossa William the Conqueror was asserting successfully his claim to direct church affairs in England. He refused to do homage to any pope, exercised the right to appoint to ecclesiastical office as well as civil, and insisted that no church laws could be promulgated without his sanction. King William remained friendly to the pope, but he was king over the Church in his own realm. Later sovereigns quarreled with archbishops of Canterbury over questions of jurisdiction. Henry II compelled the clergy to obey the law of the land.

In the thirteenth century when the papacy had reached the dizzy heights of supernatural authority, England was humiliated. King

John quarreled with the powerful pope, Innocent III, and was compelled to submit to the temporal sovereignty of the pope. For a century and a half England paid tribute to Rome. Because the English people were better Catholics than they were Englishmen and social classes would not pull together, the pope was able to dictate, even in politics as well as in the Church. But the time came at the end of the thirteenth century when Edward I dared to insist on his right to tax the English clergy in spite of the immunities claimed by the Church. The allegiance of the English people to the pope was weakening, they disliked the degenerate friars, and they were becoming nationally minded. By the middle of the fourteenth century Parliament showed its temper by trying to prevent certain abuses of Roman Catholic administration and finally by refusing any longer to pay the tribute. This was not a refusal of the spiritual leadership of the Catholic Church or even a denial of the pope's headship of the Church, but an assertion that England had national rights which challenged the political claims of the papacy. The papal residence at Avignon and papal subserviency to France increased the English feeling of dissatisfaction with the ecclesiastical system, and the Great Schism was not ended when John Wycliffe wrote his tract *On Dominion*, which championed royal authority as opposed to papal supremacy.

John Wycliffe was one of the causes of the English Reformation. By his teaching and preaching at Oxford he set educated men to thinking and his ideas spread to the Continent. By his Bible translation he turned the attention of the English people to the teaching of the Scriptures, and showed the contrast between Catholic teaching and that of Holy Writ. By means of his *Poor Priests* and his writings he disseminated unconventional ideas on politics and society and religion, all of which threatened the foundations of the existing order. The current of religious reform flowed underground after the persecution of the Lollards, but it was liable to come to the surface where it could find an outlet. Political matters were distracted by the Hundred Years' War with France and the civil Wars of the Roses. But then emerged a new national unity and an enhanced royal authority. By the time the Tudor sovereigns were well seated on the English throne the nation had been welded together, the ambitious absorption in French affairs had been eliminated, and by a shrewd and economical policy the foundations were laid for a monarchy that might have a large place among the European nations.

RELATION OF HENRY VIII TO THE PAPACY

The peaceful relations between England and the papacy were undisturbed when the sixteenth century dawned, but they were to be broken rudely before long. The death of Henry VII in 1509 left the throne to his son, Henry VIII. He had the advantages of youth, good looks, popularity, and a well-filled treasury. When the Lutheran revolt occurred in Germany he wrote against Luther. The pope was pleased and gave the king the title of "Defender of the Faith," a badge of distinction which the English sovereigns liked to use long after England had forsaken Rome. King Henry was friendly to the Renaissance, and that gave him the friendship of the scholars. Altogether it was under the happiest auspices that he commenced his reign and continued it for the first twenty years. But by that time the masterful disposition which was characteristic of the Tudors had made him hard and arbitrary in his methods. He conceived a passion for a maid of honor of Queen Catherine of Aragon, whom he had married for the sake of an alliance with Spain. Because the special consent of the pope had been required for the marriage, a papal dispensation was necessary for the annulment which he wished, and that the pope was unwilling to give lest it enrage the Emperor Charles V, who was Catherine's nephew. Cardinal Wolsey, Henry's minister, was unable to get the pope's consent and in his impatience Henry cut the knot by declaring himself instead of the pope the head of the Church in England, getting the divorce from an English court, and marrying his favorite, Anne Boleyn. By this act of rebellion from Rome Henry rejected for England the ecclesiastical authority of the papacy, as the English Parliament had thrown off the political authority by its refusal to pay tribute after 1366. It did not mean the rejection of the spiritual authority of the pope. The change of headship of the English Church did not mean that England became Protestant. It was in effect a nationalization of the Catholic Church. But it proved to be the first step in a series which in the end would take England away from its Catholic allegiance. The king was able to work his will because he browbeat the clergy into submission and secured the favorable action of Parliament by filling it with a new peerage. He counted on the temper of the nation, which had long been impatient with the extreme claims of the papacy, and his own masterfulness accomplished the rest.

CAUSES OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND

Even the forceful policy of the king might not have carried the nation with him had it not been for other forces that were at work to undermine Catholicism. The remaining influence of Wycliffe and his Bible was one of these. A second was the effect of the Lutheran movement and of the writings of Luther, which found their way to England in spite of their blacklisting by Church authorities. A third influence was the writing and talking of certain Englishmen. William Tyndale was an Englishman who came under Zwinglian influence, and by his translation of the Bible, the first of modern English Bibles to be translated from the original languages and printed, profoundly affected the thought of all who read. While he was sowing the seeds of distrust in the teachings of the Church, John Colet at Oxford was using the New Testament as a basis for his lectures. He had absorbed the New Learning in Italy, and at Oxford, instead of quoting the authority of the Fathers of the Church as the Schoolmen had done, he went to the Bible and treated Paul's letters as if they might be taken at their practical face value. Students were enthusiastic over the new method, and the Bible became the popular textbook. At that time Erasmus was attracted to Oxford and Colet and became a sympathizer with the reforms which Colet was urging in education and the Church. Colet was made dean of St. Paul's, and he was in a position to start St. Paul's School, which became the model for scores of grammar schools in England before the middle of the sixteenth century. A fourth cause of religious unrest was the popular dissatisfaction with ignorant and immoral priests, with monks and friars who had lost their ideals, and with bishops who grabbed as many ecclesiastical offices as they could get and then pulled wires for civil appointments. It was plain too that the Church was squeezing all the money possible out of the pockets of the people, trading on superstition, praying souls out of purgatory for a shilling, charging all that the ecclesiastical traffic would bear for services of every sort. The cumulative effect of these various influences prepared the public mind for Henry's act of rebellion. Parliament was submissive enough to the king's will to ratify his action and vote him the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England. It transferred to him the annates, the first year's income of a bishop's or archbishop's office, which formerly had been a papal perquisite, and gave to him the power of appointment of the higher clergy. Appeals to Rome were abolished, Peter's Pence was forbidden, and the dispensing power

was given to the Archbishop of Canterbury. By these specific acts the separation from Rome was made complete by 1535.

FUTURE COURSE OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION DURING HENRY'S REIGN

The king did not contemplate radical changes in organization or ritual. Thomas Cranmer, whom he made Archbishop of Canterbury because he was a useful tool, had leanings toward Lutheranism. Through his influence with Henry the Articles of Religion that were issued as an ecclesiastical platform were more progressive than would otherwise have been likely. The first attempt under the title of the Ten Articles was conservative. Five of them were doctrinal, authorizing the Bible, the three great creeds, and the decisions of the first four ecumenical councils as standards, asserting the necessity of the sacraments of baptism and penance and the real presence of Christ in the mass, and defining justification. The other five articles were ceremonial. Saints and images should be venerated, the usual ceremonies of the ritual observed, and if any satisfaction was to be gained one might well pray one's friends out of purgatory. The Articles were published in the king's name, and with them a set of Royal Injunctions, directing the clergy in the use of the Articles and the Bible. The Injunctions gave practical advice to the parish priests about conducting the services and instructing the people in religious fundamentals, and warned the priests to keep away from the ale-houses and spend their time in Bible reading rather than in gaming. King Henry authorized the public use in the churches of a recent Bible translation which Matthew Coverdale had made on the basis of Tyndale's translation.

An act which showed the king's disposition to profit as much as possible from the changes that were being made was the suppression of Catholic monasteries in England. Without doubt there was an excess of monastic houses in the country, and the monastic enthusiasm had waned so far that the monks had lost the spiritual tone of their best days, but the charges of misconduct made against them from a superficial investigation seem to have been animated by the desire of the Government to secure the landed estates of the monasteries. More than three hundred smaller monasteries were dissolved in 1536 by royal authority and a few of their heads were pensioned. Half as many more larger monasteries expected the same fate and submitted, and a few remaining were seized, so that by

1540 all monastic property had been appropriated. Some of the proceeds were used to provide for new bishoprics and other sums went to endowments in the universities, but Henry found the money most useful in winning the support of the new nobility which he had created. The spoliation of the monasteries was complete; the buildings were stripped of their valuables and left a wreck. The monks and nuns were abandoned to the mercies of the public.

Of similar character was the suppression of the chantries by an act voted in 1545 but not carried out until after Henry's death. Chantry priests were numerous because many persons had left money for the support of priests who would pray for the rest of their souls. They had no parish duties to perform, but in many cases they were useful teachers. But the superstitious practice of prayers for the dead gave the government an excuse to appropriate such endowments and those of popular guilds for sick and burial benefits, because they too provided for similar prayers.

The popular reaction to the changes that had taken place was not very reassuring. An insurrection known as the Pilgrimage of Grace took place in the north of England when the king ventured to dissolve the monasteries. Henry punished the insurgents and presently Protestants and papal Catholics were being sent to their death on the same vehicles, because they would not conform to the king's standards. Even Thomas More, a humanist of note and at one time the chancellor of the realm, was sent to the block because he could not conscientiously admit the claims of the king. The people were not satisfied with the Ten Articles or with the Bishops' Book, which was sent out under episcopal authority to supplement the king's efforts. Henry and Cranmer tried again with Thirteen Articles, and this time the influence of the Augsburg Confession was apparent. The king was disposed to abandon more of the old practices, including the use of Latin in worship. But when a German deputation tried to persuade him to abolish clerical celibacy, private masses, and the withholding of the cup from the laity, Henry's mind reacted, he withdrew the earlier Articles and replaced them with Six Articles which were decidedly reactionary, and Cranmer was in danger of losing his head.

CRANMER'S CHANGES

The death of Henry VIII in 1547 made it possible for Cranmer and the Council of Regency for the boy king Edward VI to carry

the ecclesiastical changes farther. The regents were so selfish as to give little thought to the best interests of the nation, but they were glad to profit by still further injuring the old order. Cranmer, most influential of the regents, was sympathetic with Protestantism. His position as Archbishop of Canterbury gave him the power to regulate the forms of religion and he was prompt to make further changes. These were in harmony with the will of the Regency and were not opposed by Parliament. Cranmer provided for parish surveys and issued new instructions to the priests. He directed the clergy that the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer be read weekly in the churches, together with a chapter from the Old Testament and another from the New. It had been a distinct gain that the use of the English language had supplanted the Latin in the church service. A new edition of the Bible known as the Great Bible was placed in every church, and the priests were supplied with homilies for popular instruction. A fanatical crusade against Christian art began, which destroyed much of the beauty of the churches, but it was a crude way of expressing dissatisfaction with the Catholic Church. Parliament abolished the Six Articles and voted that the people should have the communion in both kinds, the wine as well as the wafer, and some time later it gave priests permission to marry. More church property was confiscated. Certain superstitious practices were prohibited, such as the use of holy water, and people were shocked because the archbishop ate meat in Lent, "which was never seen since England was a Catholic country."

These revolutionary acts were accompanied by three constructive measures. As there are three departments of ecclesiastical institutionalism, the organization of the Church, its system of worship, and its body of doctrine, so there must be provision for each. The organization was left virtually unchanged. The two archbishops of Canterbury and York remained as under the pope, and the episcopal arrangement of bishops was not abolished. The king continued to be the head of the Church and made the appointments of bishops and archbishops. The subject of worship was one that interested Cranmer, and he had most to do with its revision. For some time considerable variety had existed in the forms used in different dioceses, and each church had its service book. Now Cranmer secured an Act of Uniformity from Parliament, and with the assistance of the clergy he drew up an authorized prayer book to furnish a proper liturgy for worship and the sacraments. It was based on the service

book of Sarum, one of the old parishes. It was not very different from the old Catholic service books, except that it was in the English language, which made the religious exercises intelligible. Three years later, in 1552, this was replaced by the Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI, which had more decidedly Protestant features, and showed an increasing influence of the Protestant reformers over Cranmer. It made such changes as to substitute the word "table" for "altar," made "minister" equivalent to "priest," and altered the communion service so as to give up the doctrine of the real bodily presence in favor of a spiritual presence of Christ in the elements. The language of the two prayer books was chaste and dignified, and the beauty of diction which was characteristic of them evoked the admiration of people of taste.

Calvin's doctrinal ideas were expressed in the Forty-two Articles which were issued as a standard of belief. They were prepared carefully with the assistance of the clergy. They were influenced by the Augsburg Confession and by Calvinism, which at that time was represented in England by several scholars from the Continent. Yet the Articles were not so anti-Catholic as the Prayer Book, and on the whole fitted well the actual convictions of those people who actually did any thinking on the subject of religion. They proved so satisfactory that, except for the reduction of the number to the Thirty-nine Articles of Queen Elizabeth, they have continued to serve the needs of the Anglican Church. As a supplement for popular use the people were given a Short Catechism. But in all this procedure the wishes of the people were not consulted, and a rebellion broke out in Cornwall and Devon with a demand for the restoration of the Six Articles, and a social revolt among the agrarian folk of the eastern counties resulted in temporary defeat for the government.

CATHOLIC RECOVERY UNDER MARY TUDOR

The permanence of these changes depended on the length of Edward's reign. With his early death in 1553 his older sister Mary became queen. There was a brief attempt to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne but the people wanted their rightful sovereign, the daughter of Catherine of Aragon. She was a loyal Catholic, and with proper regret for the delinquencies of the English Government she promptly restored Catholicism and sought the forgiveness of the pope. Cardinal Pole, Mary's best friend in England, was made

papal legate and absolved the prodigal nation. Most of the people cared little whether Catholic England was under papal or royal jurisdiction, but they rather liked the old Catholic ways and there was no disturbance over the changes in religion that Mary made. The leaders in the Church of England were divided in their preferences. Men like Gardiner, whom Mary made lord chancellor, and Bonner, Bishop of London, would have been content with royal instead of papal supremacy, and Cranmer preferred Protestantism, but the queen had her way. Gardiner and Bonner fell in with her policies. Cranmer went to the stake, and with him were burned Latimer and Ridley, both eminent scholars, because they would not conform to the Catholic policy of Mary. She punished less prominent recalcitrants with banishment, imprisonment or death. Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* tells the sad tale of intolerance and the burnings of heretics at Smithfield near London. All classes suffered from the queen's cold but conscientious policy. Not a few persons went into voluntary exile to the Continent to escape a worse fate, and some of them returned later to plague the Elizabethan Church with their radical opinions about religion. The short reign of "Bloody Mary" was a time that tried men's souls.

The strenuous efforts of the queen, resulting in the deliberate execution of about three hundred persons, were rewarded only by the loss of affection of the people. She was disappointed in her marriage with Philip II of Spain, who did not remain long in the island, was disappointed in her hope of an heir, and grieved over the loss of Calais to France, the last remnant of the ancient possessions of England in that country. After five unhappy years she sank into her grave, conscious of failure in all her hopes and plans, and England welcomed her half sister, Elizabeth, to a long and prosperous reign.

REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

Elizabeth's reign is one of the outstanding epochs of English history. During those forty-five years Elizabeth molded modern England into its permanent form. It was as if a worker in clay had been experimenting with the nation since 1485, trying first one pattern and then another until the correct figure should appear. The year of Elizabeth's accession was in a half decade of epochal events in the history of religion. German religious and civil disturbances had been calmed by the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. In 1559 Calvin

planned for the permanence of his reform by the founding of the University of Geneva. In the same year Henry II of France died, leaving the nation to a succession of youthful kings and the scheming of the queen mother, Catherine de Medici. The next year Scotland was in revolt against queen and Church, and Knox was giving the people new religious institutions. It was important to know what England would do under the new Queen.

Elizabeth had the Tudor passion for power, but she possessed common sense and she shared something of the good nature of her sprightly mother. At the outset of her reign she had to decide between the pope, who regarded her as an illegitimate daughter of Henry VIII, and the reforms which her sister Mary had rejected. It would seem natural for her to decide against Catholicism, but she had reason to dread the hostility of Spain and France if she did so. In the end Spain sent a heavy armada against England, but it was thirty years too late. Her private devotions remained Catholic, but publicly she decided to restore the reforms made by Cranmer. The place of Protestantism was fixed in the early part of her reign, when Parliament by the Act of Supremacy gave the queen similar control of religion as her father had enjoyed, but with the title of Governor of the Church of England, and by the Act of Uniformity required everyone to conform to the established standards of worship, with fines and imprisonment in the filthy prisons of those days as penalties for disobedience. With certain reservations the Prayer Book of Edward VI was adopted, and the Thirty-nine Articles became the norm of faith. In the episcopal housecleaning which was necessary the queen appointed new bishops and made Matthew Parker, her former tutor, Archbishop of Canterbury. Some of the men most available for bishops were among those Marian exiles who had imbibed a liking for Calvin's presbyterian organization of the Church at Geneva, and who would have liked to see more changes in the forms of worship. But in Parker Elizabeth had an archbishop who would further her plans without quibbling, and by his *Advertisements* in 1566 he made plain the will of the queen regarding the use of clerical vestments, a matter that was causing disputes among the clergy. The Protestant forms upon which Elizabeth insisted were recommended to the people by means of preaching at St. Paul's Cross, an outdoor pulpit in St. Paul's Churchyard in London, where crowds of people and sometimes even the Court gathered to hear the preachers and to sing psalms after the fashion

of the Genevans. All over England the novelty of psalm singing helped to win the hearts of the people for the Reformation.

NONCONFORMITY

No ecclesiastical decision would please all the people, because the Reformation was a discordant influence encouraging differences of opinion. John Jewel, the bishop of Salisbury, was a representative of those who believed in a national Protestant Church. An exile during Mary's reign because he would not attend mass, he returned to write an *Apology for the Anglican Church*, which gave him a reputation abroad and was so acceptable in England that it was distributed among the parish churches. In his book he maintained the antiquity of the Anglican religion, as older than Roman Catholicism.

Elizabeth found herself between two extreme factions, neither of which was pleased with the decisions of the queen. The Catholics, disappointed over her failure to approve the old religion, plotted to replace Elizabeth with Mary, Queen of Scots, accepted invitations to meet secretly in the houses of the faithful for mass, and welcomed Jesuit priests who were trained for English Catholic priests at Douai College in France. A Catholic printing press was set up in London and determined efforts were made to extend propaganda, but Elizabeth was keen to interfere and numbers of young priests died for their mission. On the other hand were the Puritans, whose leaders had been exiles at Geneva. At first they applauded the changes which the queen made, but they were not satisfied when she refused to go further. They wished to purify the church worship of its Catholic survivals. They preferred the black gown which the ministers wore at Geneva to the surplice and cope of episcopacy. They did not like the use of the ring in marriage or of the cross in baptism, and opposed the genuflexions of the service of worship. Thirty-seven out of ninety-eight clergymen in London gave up their livings rather than conform. Many of them preferred the presbyterian form of the Reformed Church to the episcopacy of the Church of England. The most conspicuous attempt to introduce presbyterianism into the Church of England was made by Thomas Cartwright, one of the Puritans, who in 1569 became Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at the University of Cambridge. By his lectures there and by his attempt to set up presbyterian forms inside the church, and so gradually to oust episcopacy he became recognized as the chief exponent of Puritanism, but not all Puritans were ready to follow his desire

to abolish bishops in favor of presbyteries. Most Puritans would prefer to stay in the old Church of England, if possible, but they wished to improve it. A few went so far as to withdraw altogether from that Church.

BEGINNINGS OF SEPARATISM

During the latter part of Elizabeth's reign several groups of persons in London and the eastern and midland countries of England came together in meetings of their own in house or public hall and organized as congregations independent of the Church of England. Because they violated the law of uniformity the government interfered, but rather than give up their independent principles the members left their homes and came together again in Holland, where the policy of the Government was tolerant of differences. A group from London was known as the Ancient Exiled Church in Amsterdam. A congregation from Norwich in eastern England found refuge at Middleburg. A third company went from Gainsboro in middle England to Amsterdam, maintaining a separate existence from the London Church. A fourth left Scrooby in the same neighborhood and settled in Leyden. It was from this fourth group that the Pilgrims went later to Plymouth in America, where they founded the first Puritan colony in New England. Separatism was to find its permanent place in both England and America, but for a time its advocates were far too radical for both thoroughgoing Anglicans and Puritans, and in their independency they found it difficult to preserve harmony even among themselves.

Meantime a war of pamphlets, the most notorious of which were the nonconformist *Martin Marprelate Tracts*, was going on in England, and the Presbyterians were boring steadily from within. One eminent writer, Richard Hooker, wrote a classic defense of the established order in his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594), admitting that the Church had the right to alter its forms, but denying the validity of the principles of Calvin and the Puritans. Cartwright and Elizabeth maintained their mutual hostility until both died in the same year. Elizabeth had made England Protestant; it was not yet clear whether its Church was to be Anglican or Puritan. England lost something by separation from the churches of the Continent, but the people gained in freedom from papal domination, escaped from some of the abuses that had crept into the Church, and were set to thinking about religion. It was unfortunate that Catholics and

Puritans should both be driven into recusancy or insidious propaganda, but no reforming church had yet learned toleration of non-conformity. In England as on the Continent Government decided the religious changes that were made. The people were not consulted, and their preferences when expressed by insurgency or separation were repressed ruthlessly. The Reformation did not bring freedom to common folk in religion.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGES

The reign of Elizabeth marks an epoch in English history in several respects besides religion. There was a gain in the economic prosperity of the nation but not of all classes of the people. Many of the small farmers had lost their land by eviction when land owners enclosed open lands for sheep pastures. The supply of raw wool to Flanders and later to the manufacturing trade in England had made sheep raising profitable, and certain persons were owners of flocks which numbered thousands of animals. The evictions resulted in throwing some out of work, as the industrial revolution and the introduction of machinery displaced workers two centuries later, but the demand for food fostered agriculture during Elizabeth's reign, and those who had been evicted and could not find work were aided by the new poor laws or regulated if they became vagrants. A new principle was adopted that parishes must take care of their own poor, finding work for them when possible and training young people as apprentices, providing for the unemployable in almshouses, and penalizing those who would not work. The Elizabethan poor laws took care of those who no longer enjoyed the charity of the monasteries. The system adopted became the basis for later English and American methods of dealing with poverty.

It was a time of change in the organization of industry. The medieval guild system was breaking down in industry. More artisans worked independently without regard for guild rules, and journeymen organized their own guilds and masters their associations with less of consideration for each other, anticipating the unions and associations of the present time. Manufacturing tended to work out from the towns into the homes of the rural districts. Wholesalers and jobbers permitted the people to carry on spinning and weaving in the intervals of farm work and to turn in the manufactured goods for sale. People of the middle class enjoyed better houses and furniture. Many of them engaged in trade, and legal regulations became

necessary. Administration of the laws was entrusted to country squires, who from that time became important figures in English society. They are the men who became a stable bulwark for the Anglican Church in the country parishes, and their favor or frown would make or break a country parson.

The government encouraged the trading class of England by granting certain monopolies to those who had capital enough to organize strong commercial companies, and navigation acts of Parliament favored goods carried in English ships. The surprising geographical discoveries that had been made both east and west disclosed increasing opportunities for profitable trade, and after the buccaneering methods of the English seamen had broken up the trade monopolies of Spain the way was open for English trade and colonization. As French and Flemish artisans were encouraged to immigrate for the building up of manufactures, so merchant adventurers were given special privileges that they might increase the volume of foreign trade. During the same period an English navy came into existence, which was able to defeat the Spanish Armada and form the foundation of England's sea power.

A nation of people who were thus busily engaged in finding new avenues to economic prosperity was not likely to be content with a static religion, and increasingly the industrial parts of England became infected with a Puritanism which emphasized the individual with his obligations and his opportunities, encouraged industry and thrift, and extended hope of rewards in proportion to the attainment of virtue. The same principles produced the same social results, whether in Geneva, Holland or England, and Puritanism became a power in seventeenth-century society, whether it won or lost control in Church or State.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. What are the salient points in the relations between England and Rome prior to 1500?
2. What were the causes of the English Reformation?
3. Did Henry VIII or Cranmer have most to do with changing the religion of England? Which was the stronger character?
4. What was the net effect of the suppression of the monasteries? Was it justifiable?
5. How did the Church of Elizabeth's time differ from the Roman Catholic?
6. Is Mary Tudor to be pitied or blamed? Why?

7. What made the greatness of the Age of Elizabeth?
8. Explain the rise of nonconformity.
9. How were the Separatists different from the rest of the Puritans? Who were some of them?
10. What Bible translations were made in England in the period between 1530 and 1630?

For class discussion and debate

1. The comparative excellences of episcopacy, presbyterianism, and congregationalism.
2. Was the poor law of Elizabeth a better method of dealing with poverty than the charity of the medieval Church?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. Hugh Latimer.
2. More's *Utopia*.
3. Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*.

For longer written essays

1. English Bible translations between 1535 and 1555.
2. Excellences of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.
3. A character study of Queen Elizabeth.
4. The primates of the Anglican Church during the Age of Elizabeth.
5. Thomas Cartwright.
6. The Martin Marprelate Tracts.

For maps and tables

1. A map to show the principal places of the English Reformation.
2. A map to show the expansion of English interests on the seas.

READING REFERENCES

Sources

The English Bible

Prayer books of Edward VI

Martin Marprelate Tracts

FOXE. Acts and Monuments

GEE and HARDY. Documents Illustrative of English Church History

STRYPE. Ecclesiastical Memorials

SCHAFF. Creeds of Christendom: The Thirty-nine Articles

CRANMER. Works

Secondary Guides

STEPHENS and HUNT. History of the English Church

PERRY. History of the Reformation in England

GREEN. History of the English People

- WAKEMAN. History of the Church of England
SMITH, P. Age of the Reformation
SEEBOHM. The Oxford Reformers
POLLARD. Thomas Cranmer
GAIRDNER. Lollardy and the Reformation in England
CREIGHTON. The Age of Elizabeth
MARTI. Economic Causes of the Reformation in England
MARGOLIS. The Story of Bible Translations
HOARE. Evolution of the English Bible
GASQUET. Henry VIII and the English Monasteries
PROCTOR and FRERE. New History of the Book of Common Prayer
POLLARD. Henry VIII
DIXON. History of the Church of England
PEARSON. Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism

CHAPTER XIX

CONSEQUENCES OF THE REFORMATION

THE MEANING OF THE REFORMATION

As the Renaissance was more than a revival of art and learning, so the Protestant revolt of northern Europe was more than a religious reformation. Its prime significance was in the rediscovery of personal religion, and its fundamental principle was faith as the means of salvation instead of the sacraments. But this was one only of a number of discoveries that followed the awakening of the human mind, the discovery of the nation and the relation of the individual to it, the discovery of the value of commerce and the relation of the free man to the city and its guilds, the discovery of a larger world and the relation of Europe to it, the discovery of a larger universe and the relation of the earth to the sun and stars, and the discovery of the personal privilege of thinking for oneself, and the relation of the individual to overhead ecclesiastical authority whether of bishop or pope.

Monks and mystics had blazed a way to heaven which was more direct than the route which led by altar and sacrament. Heretical groups like the Waldensians went to the Bible instead of to the priest for instruction. Luther made the blazed path plainer, took the Bible for his road book, and told the people to follow him. Calvin outlined God's plan of salvation, and Knox carried his message to the North. The prime fact of the whole Reformation was the different answer which Protestantism gave to the question: Which road shall I take to heaven? Secondary are all fine-spun theories of justification and sanctification, original sin and atonement, predestination and free will.

The revolt from Catholicism did not free religion from the control of the past. The traditions of a thousand years had sunk too deeply into the religious consciousness and become a part of religious custom. Protestantism took over from Catholicism the orthodox doctrines of God and Christ, of sin and the need of salvation, of a

future judgment and eternal life. Both Luther and Calvin were Augustinian in their belief in Adam's fall and the taint of the human race, in the helpless condition of men except through faith in the atonement of Christ, and in the predestination of an elect few for salvation. Both affirmed the need of divine grace, but they differed from Catholics in rejecting the place of the Church as a necessary mediator of that grace. Both rejected the mass and the belief in transubstantiation, indulgences and the doctrine of purgatory, relics and pilgrimages, the veneration of the Virgin, monasticism, celibacy, and the use of the Latin language in worship. Both believed in the authority of the Bible instead of in an infallible priesthood. Both limited the freedom of the individual, Luther by leaving it to the secular prince to order religion, Calvin by putting religious authority in the hands of the presbyterian organization, its decisions to be carried out by the civil power. Neither of them was disposed to accept the principle of toleration. Luther at first laid down the principle of private judgment, but he was intolerant of the Anabaptists, and the insurrection of the peasants made him distrust the judgment of the common man. Calvin would not permit Servetus, the physician, to exercise his reason in matters theological, and felt deep satisfaction when he was put to death.

At certain specific points the reformers could not agree. Lutherans and Zwinglians failed to present a united front to the Catholics because they disagreed about the meaning of the Lord's Supper. Luther maintained that there was a real bodily presence of Christ in the bread and wine, while Zwingli thought of the Supper as merely a memorial of the last supper of Jesus with his disciples in Jerusalem. Calvinists believed in a spiritual presence of Christ. Calvinists and Anglicans differed in forms of organization and their modes of worship. Anabaptists had their own peculiar opinion and practice regarding baptism and certain social customs, like the taking of oaths. The Reformation ran true to form as a disintegrating force, breaking up the solid crust of belief and custom and sowing seeds that would bear fruit later in new ideas and different structures.

PROTESTANT PROBLEMS

The Protestant movement had its problems to solve, as the early Christians had theirs. There was a struggle for existence. The Catholic Church did not stand by and take the blows of schismatics with-

out striking back. Catholic princes in Germany and Catholic cantons in Switzerland were encouraged to fight for their faith against the innovators, and Germany in particular suffered grievously in the long conflict that ended in the Thirty Years' War and the Peace of Westphalia. In France Calvinistic reform appealed successfully to certain prominent families of the aristocracy, and that gave Protestantism standing; but religious differences plunged that nation into civil war and the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Some of the best blood of France was lost to the nation in the exile of Huguenots. In the Netherlands, which were under Spanish rule at the middle of the sixteenth century, the Dutch fought through to success a war for political and religious independence, and managed to prosper while doing it. In England it was some time before a permanent religious policy was adopted, and in the interval the sovereign condemned many individuals to death for daring to think independently. Through the inquisition the Catholic Church suppressed every indication of heresy or schism where it exercised control, and used the new order of the Jesuits as its trusted soldiery. They had the ear of kings, took over most of the teaching in Catholic schools, went overseas on missionary expeditions, and unquestioningly obeyed the commands of their head, the pope.

Protestants had also the problem of Christian conduct. Catholic teaching failed to dignify family life. To be sure it made marriage a sacrament and baptized babies to save them from hell, but in putting a premium on the celibacy of the clergy it encouraged the idea that family life was inferior, and sex morals suffered in consequence. Christianity had a good influence on social ethics, but the Church stressed institutional activities and too often overlooked serious infractions of moral law. It may be doubted whether the confessional justified itself. On the other hand the spirit of revolt that produced Protestantism sometimes carried the tendency to freedom so far as to weaken moral restraint. The radical experiment of the millennial Anabaptists at Münster was an extreme example of the danger, though it was by no means the spirit of Anabaptism as a whole. But Protestantism soon righted itself in spite of small radical groups, though it failed to establish the standards that Jesus would have set up. Books of discipline were an essential part of the Calvinistic system. Standards of conduct were rigid, and men and women must live up to them. The emphasis on discipline was the natural reaction from the social excesses that were prevalent in Geneva under the

Catholic régime and that threatened the success of Calvin's whole enterprise in the early years of the Genevan reformation. Calvin feared that without stern restraint conduct could not be controlled by the Church. It was therefore the function of the presbyterian courts to censor conduct, and even the ministers must expect to be examined for their faults.

METHODS OF ORGANIZATION

The problem of organization was met in different ways. Luther found it hard to believe that his movement would be other than a religious reformation within the Catholic Church, and he was not interested to perfect a new organization. The Lutheran Church had certain characteristics of the various types that were evolved during the period. Its features were presbyterian with episcopal and congregational modifications; eventually the Lutheran Church was brought under state control. Calvinism presented the most novel type of church organization. Calvin's theory was that elders chosen for their wisdom should assist the minister in every local group, governing through a court known as the consistory, or session; that every church should send delegates to a district presbytery, which should have power to ordain ministers and to decide on difficulties that the local church did not settle for itself. The presbytery gave its name to the presbyterian system. A higher court than the presbytery, the synod, was devised in a full-fledged national system, like that of Scotland, and highest of all was the national synod, or assembly. The presbyterian system was well adapted to the exercise of moral and ecclesiastical discipline, which was close to the heart of Calvin, and was a training school in representative democracy. It did not give a voice in ecclesiastical control to the rank and file of church members.

The Church of England retained episcopacy, with the sovereign as the nominal head of the Church and the Archbishop of Canterbury as primate of all England. But the authority of the Church was explained in different ways. It rested theoretically on the Bible, but men differed as to the respective rights of State and Church in the interpretation and application of the Bible. Most Anglicans were willing to accept the direction of the State through parliamentary legislation, but the Crown was arbitrary and much of the time Parliament merely recorded its wishes. The definition of the authority of episcopacy was a vexatious problem through the reigns of Eliza-

beth and James I. One party in the Church held the doctrine of a divine right of episcopacy, a doctrine at the foundation of the High Church position in the Church of England, another party represented episcopacy as not prescribed but useful and Biblical. Richard Hooker in his *Ecclesiastical Polity* presented the classical opinion that episcopal authority rests on Scripture and reason.

MODES OF WORSHIP

The problem of suitable forms of worship was troublesome to those who rejected the Catholic customs. New orders of worship were arranged and prayer books provided that were based on the practices prescribed by the old Catholic service books. Public reading of the Bible became the custom. In the Church of England suitable Scriptural selections were incorporated into the prayer book. Calvin used the unadulterated Bible for instruction regarding God's will. The Old Testament was to him as authoritative as the New. The sermon took the place of the mass as the central part of church worship because the Bible needed interpretation, and the people needed to be exhorted to meet their religious obligations. Luther provided homiletical collections for his clergy who found it hard to preach. All Englishmen, and similarly in most other Protestant countries, were required by law to observe the order of the prayer book, for there was no such freedom of worship as is customary in America. Acute dissension arose in England between the Puritans and the defenders of conservative customs over the issue of the ritual. The Reformed churches went farther than the Anglican in their abolition of old customs, rejecting the elaborate ceremonies of olden time, and making bare their meetinghouses, but they had their directions of worship which regulated their methods of action.

Protestants generally discarded all the Catholic sacraments except baptism and the Lord's Supper. Luther maintained the usefulness of the practice of confession, and thought that penance might perhaps be retained. He considered sacraments as means of grace useless without faith, but mediums through which the Spirit of God does its work for men. To Calvin a sacrament was a confirmation of divine promise and a means of increasing faith. It was hard to break away altogether from the Catholic conception of intrinsic value in the act itself, but Protestants were on the way to the more consistent opinion that baptism and the Supper were merely ordinances symbolic of spiritual experience rather than necessary means of that experience.

Baptism was administered to infants as well as adults, except among the Anabaptists. Luther believed that through it the infant might acquire a dawning faith, and Calvin justified it on the ground that the promises of God are to believers and their seed. The Lord's Supper was for those who had been baptized, administered by the ministers, with the lingering belief on the part of communicants generally that the act of partaking kindled in the individual Christian the activity of the Holy Spirit. In the Church of England the sacraments had more nearly their Catholic form and significance than elsewhere.

CREEDS AND CATECHISMS

The problem of belief was solved by the adoption of articles of faith or confessions, which were norms of individual faith. These were the product of expert theological authorship, and received the sanction of a church assembly or a national parliament. Of these the best known are the Augsburg Confession, the standard of the Lutherans, the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, and the Westminster Confession of the English Calvinists. These creeds agreed on the fundamentals of the Christian faith, but each had its particular emphasis. No general councils of all Protestants met, as did the councils of the ancient Church, but the Synod of Dort and the Westminster Assembly in the seventeenth century included representatives of more than one national body of Presbyterians. The emphasis of the creeds was upon intellectual conceptions of religious value rather than upon a vital grasp of reality through personal experience of trust and communion through Christ. Calvinism, which became the prevailing theology of western Europe, had much to say about the councils of the Almighty, but very little about human responsibility for one's fellows. It expected men and women to practice individual virtues, but it did not apply religion to social and business relations, or have any sense of social sin and righteousness. Modern capitalism owes much to the thrift and energy of the Puritan, who was the typical Calvinist. The modern social movement of Christianity owes to it very little, except indirectly.

The cardinal principle of Protestantism was individual responsibility to God for oneself. The minister encouraged his hearers to meet their religious obligations; the laity no longer depended on the priest and the sacraments. God's grace was free, at least for those whom He had chosen; it would not operate for any others with any

amount of sacramentarianism. Protestantism helped to make the modern age individualistic and gave moral sanction to individual achievement. If not carried to an extreme, individualism was salutary. It was needed after the collectivism of the Middle Ages, in which every man was a member of a social group. Individualism made a man stand on his own feet, win his own way in the world, do at least a little of his own thinking. It was by such means that the world must move forward. The idea of progress was not entertained until the age of individualism. Medievalism is static; it is modernism that is dynamic.

The primitive beliefs that were characteristic of Protestantism were: the central doctrine of personal faith in Christ as the means of getting into right relations with God, the final authority of the Bible rather than the Church, and the terrible consequences of the bondage of sin. Luther defined faith as "a certain sure confidence of heart and firm assent by which Christ is apprehended, so that Christ is the object of faith, nay, not the object, but, so to speak, in faith itself Christ is present." A consequence of such faith was an assurance of acceptance with God, which casts out fear such as haunted Luther in the monastery at Erfurt. Good works were to be thought of as the necessary fruit of faith, springing out of the new dynamic in the penitent soul. In defining the authority of Scripture Luther tested all its teaching by his main doctrine of justification by faith. Every interpretation must be in harmony with that. Before the Arminian reaction against extreme Calvinism, which came early in the seventeenth century, Calvinists and Lutherans both believed in the helplessness of man in the bondage of sin. Luther declared original sin to be "so deep a corruption of human nature that nothing healthy or incorrupt in a man's body or soul, in inner or outward powers, is left," and the work of salvation to rest on the sovereign will of God.

The problem of religious education was acute. One of the serious criticisms of the Roman Catholic clergy at the time of the Reformation was their failure to teach the rudiments of religion to children. Early in the Protestant movement catechisms were prepared; Anabaptists and Waldensians had used the catechetical method for inculcating their opinions. Luther prepared both a Larger and a Shorter Catechism. In Basle Oecolampadius wrote a catechism that was published soon after Luther's, and Calvin wrote one for children in the year of the publication of his *Institutes* for the edifica-

tion of adult minds. The most important catechism for the Reformed churches of the Continent was the Heidelberg Catechism, which dates from 1563. This was widely used in western Europe, and was translated, as was Calvin's, for the use of the Scottish churches. Eventually the Westminster Catechism of the English Presbyterians replaced both of these. The three catechisms of the Reformation are Luther's Shorter Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Westminster Catechism.

As the Bible was the Protestant book of doctrine, it was natural that the Reformation produced Bible translations into the languages of the people. The German translation that Luther commenced in the Wartburg castle was an effective means of assuring the permanent success of the Lutheran movement; incidentally it helped to shape the literary language of the German nation. The Tyndale, the Geneva, and the Authorized Version of the English Bible had a similar effect in England. Not so well known is the French Protestant Bible, published first by Lefèvre, a pioneer of French Protestantism, and after revision corrected by Calvin. Calvin himself was too busy with practical affairs to take time for the careful work of actual translation, and a thoroughly good French Bible had to await the labor of later ministerial workmen in Geneva. Several Dutch Bibles were issued, based on the German and French, but no good version appeared until 1637.

RESULTS OF THE REFORMATION

There are general consequences of the Reformation that are not easily measured. Such results as a new spiritual understanding are intangible, but they count mightily in the advancement of the human race. Many of the effects were not apparent immediately. Certain of the social reactions were harmful. It could not be expected that improvement would be unmixed or that it would appear at once. The consequences of the Reformation are to be looked for in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and since then. In a thousand ways the advancement of northern and western Europe profited from the Reformation along with other means of progress. It took time to get rid of old principles and prejudices. The right of private judgment for the individual man or woman, whether in religion or politics, was long denied, but liberty and democracy sprang from seeds sown in the Reformation. The Reformation gave a new stimulus to personal achievement and a new sense of personal worth.

Among the specific results of the Reformation was the growing emancipation of thought. Tardy as this tendency was, reluctant though most of the reformers were to perceive the true implications involved in the movement of the Reformation, multitudes of people were extricating their minds from long obsessions. The people had been bound by the invisible cords of Catholic superstition. The powers of darkness were very real. Luther never shook off his fear of the Devil. Demons dogged one's footsteps through the earth, and were ready to drag a man down to hell at the close of life. The Church could shut the gate of heaven and invoke the powers of the lower realm by the dread ban of excommunication. The priest must have his fee and the Devil his due at every step. Relics of pilgrimages, saints' days and the mass, were so many safeguards for self instead of divine fellowship and human brotherhood as the essence of religion. One must do as the Church directed, and believe as the Church decreed.

Superstition can be eradicated only by a better understanding. Modern Europe owes a debt to the schools that were fostered by Protestantism. The Renaissance started the emancipation of the medieval mind; the schools of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in northern Europe were a great aid to intellectual progress. As long as Scholasticism with its principle of the authority of tradition and dogma controlled education, it was next to impossible for science to make real gains. Copernicus and Kepler, Galileo and Isaac Newton, could hardly have ushered in a new era of scientific discovery if the Reformation had not taken place. They with the religious reformation were a part of the thought emancipation of the age of awakening. Unfortunately Protestants were slow to accept the principle of freedom to think, and progress moved with a ball and chain on its feet. Protestantism was shy of liberty of conscience, timid about separating Church and State, contented with uncritical interpretations of the Bible. It failed to unify the common interests because of sectarianism. Yet it broke a path for those who would carry out more completely the principles that they glimpsed.

The social consequences of the Reformation were not immediately beneficial, if it is remembered that religious wars and massacres were frequent for a hundred years, that liberty frequently led to license in morals, and that all sorts of crazy ideas found a chance for expression. But there were certain compensations. A new moral force began to exert itself in the midst of European society when

people came to ponder upon the direct teachings of the Bible as they were presented either in a sermon or in private reading.

The Reformation cleared away certain impediments to social ethics and social progress. The ecclesiastical system had needed housecleaning for several centuries. When the Roman Catholic Church lost most of northern Europe, it was clear that the renovation of the rest must be undertaken forthwith. The counter reformation inside the old Church enforced moral reform upon the Catholic clergy. The overthrow of monasticism in Protestant lands was a valuable contribution to society. It is true that the disestablishment of those retreats threw upon the mercies of a cold world many a monk and nun who suffered in the subsequent struggle for existence. It is true that their charities to sick and poor were missed sadly until philanthropy could readjust itself. Too long wealth had been grasped by the dead hand of abbey and convent. Too long misdemeanors had been overlooked where there was such immunity from secular control. Too long society had been deprived of many thousands of able-bodied and presumably useful members.

Among the impediments to efficiency were the numerous festivals and holy days commemorating saints of the Church. Holy days were celebrated as holidays, when the people ceased labor and resorted to the dissipations of carnival freedom. They were productive of idleness and vice when they did not lead to serious immorality and crime. Economically the interruption of industry, which sometimes took as many as two or three days out of every week, was serious in agriculture, manufacturing and trade. The abolition of such holidays went too far with Calvin and his sympathizers, but a valuable corrective was needed to a real social evil.

Another consequence of the Reformation was the impetus given to progress of all sorts in northern Europe. It was not only greater sobriety and industry because of the abolition of holy days. It was not only a quickened intellectual impulse. The whole web of life came from the loom with a different pattern because the warp and woof were changed. The whole of life was animated by a different spirit in the individual, who was beginning to judge for himself in religion; in the family, which now was free from the priestly confessional; in the whole of society, which looked to the prosperous burgher as a model instead of the monk. Northern Europe at least was no longer rubbing its eyes; it was wide awake.

It was inevitable that certain unfortunate results should come

out of the disturbed period of the Reformation. All violent, sudden changes produce ferment. The times are out of joint for a while. Some people suffer; others are thrown off their mental balance. Such movements always fall short of anticipated achievements. So the Reformation failed to maintain its spiritual impetus, turned its powers to the polishing of dogmas instead of the constant encouragement of vital religion, failed to apply Christianity widely to social needs, and had no impulse to missionary effort abroad. These failures were due to the narrow vision of leaders, to the necessity for a struggle for the existence of Protestantism which hardened and blinded those who were responsible for Protestant policies, and to the natural conservatism of the ordinary mind. But the Reformation opened a highway into new areas of understanding, inspiration and achievement.

CATHOLIC COUNTER REFORMATION

During the period of a century and a half when the fortunes of Protestantism were being settled in the North and West the peoples of southern Europe remained true to the old order. There was a vague desire for reform in the Church. Cardinal Ximenes of Spain sympathized with the desire of Queen Isabella for certain reforms, and as Archbishop of Toledo and so the head of the Church in Spain, he was able to improve the morals both of the monks and the secular priests, and to provide better for their training. Out of the new scholarship came one of the most famous versions of the Bible in that period, the Complutensian Polyglot, prepared under the direction of Ximenes. The Inquisition was used to combat heresy, and the Dominican Torquemada who was in charge of it became notorious for his severe treatment of heretics. The result of the reforms in Spain was the establishment of a new discipline, but not of a new faith and a new experience.

In Italy no strong royal will was available to dominate the situation and to lead in reform. Townsmen were hopeful of local reforms among the clergy, but they had no reason to expect reform in the papal Curia. That attempt had failed ignominiously in the councils of the fifteenth century. The Capuchins were organized as a reformed body of Franciscans. Other new organizations aided in the education of the young people. Several individuals gave examples of a new spirit among the clergy. Borromeo (1515-1595) is famous as the founder of the Oratory, a building where he lectured and held religious meetings and musicales, which gave rise to the later

oratorios so called from the Oratory. An Oratory was established in France as a parish center for social activities, in imitation of the Italian Oratory of Neri. This was the beginning of the modern social interest of the Catholic Church.

The most illustrious group of the sort was the Oratory of Divine Love at Rome. Two unusual men belonged to it. One was Cardinal Contarini, who welcomed the signs of a more evangelical faith and was the moving spirit of the Conference of Ratisbon in 1541, but he remained faithful to the Church. The other was Cardinal Caraffa, seconding efforts at better discipline but unfriendly to any suggestion of a new emphasis on the inner life. After Contarini's failure to make an arrangement with the Protestants Caraffa was the unrivaled leader of his group, and was destined at last to the papal chair itself.

THE JESUITS

The most efficient agency in the Catholic recovery was the Society of Jesus. It was a time of several new orders, including the Theatines, organized in 1524 to discipline the secular clergy by applying to them the rules of poverty, chastity and obedience, and the Ursulines, an order of nuns established to succor the fallen, and later to find a useful career in the education of girls. The Jesuits were much the most noted of the new orders. They owed their inspiration to Loyola, a Spaniard. Incapacitated for the life of a soldier by bodily injury, he determined to become a soldier of the Church. Like Luther he passed through a conflict of religious emotions, nearly losing his sanity in his efforts to get near to God, but while Luther's leadership worked itself out in the activities of the classroom and the Church, Loyola's experience made him inwardly more intense, and he resolved to conquer the mysteries of religion. He disciplined himself by a set of "spiritual exercises," discovered the need of a better education, and while in Paris for that purpose resolved to found a new Catholic order which should serve as a standing army for the defense of the Roman Catholic Church. Selecting a few of his fellow students he formed the Society of Jesus, which in 1540 received the sanction of the pope, and the next year Loyola was elected the first general of the Society.

Sanctioned by the pope, rendering unquestioning obedience to the general of the order, loyal to the ecclesiastical system to the last degree, the Jesuits became the main reliance of the Catholic Church to hold the wavering line of Catholicism and to win back lost terri-

tory. They taught the old religion in the schools, persuaded individuals to hold to their confidence in the Church, and at the courts of kings diplomatically stiffened the vacillating policies of doubtful monarchs. Almost from the time of the formation of the society missionaries went out from its ranks to Christianize Asiatics in the East and Americans in French Canada. They grew in numbers but always they were picked men, selected by physical and mental qualities for the special work which they were expected to do. Instead of withdrawing from the world their task was to mold men into good Catholics by every means in their power. The society was a perfect machine, for individualism was rooted out by insisting that every member must school his will and even his moral judgment to obey without question every order from a superior. The head of the order resided at Rome, where he was assisted by five others, who not only attended to the business of the society but censored the conduct of the general. Members were graded according to their length of service and proficiency, with an inner circle which chose the officers and administered the detailed affairs of the order. It was a marvelously efficient machine. Almost at once the Jesuits leaped to a position of leadership in the councils of the Church. As missionaries and as heresy hunters they were absolutely devoted to their purpose. They did much to save southern Europe and much of the remainder to the old Church. They instituted social reforms, founding orphanages for boys and houses of refuge for prostitutes, and they opposed the vagrant practices of the mendicants. But the ethical defects of the system tended to make them unscrupulous. Resignation of individual judgment made them irresponsible. Their doctrine of probabilism, which gave the benefit of any doubt regarding conduct to him who could find a single authority among the Fathers that would excuse a questionable course of action, the practice of mental reservation which justified withholding the truth for the benefit of the order, and finally the doctrine that the end justifies any means, all worked to the moral decay of the society. The Jesuits are charged also with encouraging superstition. They maintained belief in witchcraft, stimulated such vagaries as the vision of the Sacred Heart, and promoted the veneration of the Virgin and the saints. The order became so much distrusted and disliked that it was suppressed in one country after another and its property confiscated, until Pope Clement XIV abolished the order in 1773. But with the restoration of the old régime in Europe after the down-

fall of Napoleon the Jesuits were restored by Pope Pius VII and became leaders of the ultramontanist party in the Church, which supports the most extravagant claims of the papacy.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

The convulsions that disturbed the peace of the Roman Catholic Church seemed to call for the conference of the wisest leaders. An effort must be made to solidify the Church by measures of discipline, by definition of disputed doctrines, and by new organizations, if necessary. The Protestants must be conciliated, if possible, in order to restore the unity of the Church. Reconciliation had been attempted in a conference at Ratisbon in Germany, when Contarini for the Catholics and Melancthon for the Lutherans succeeded in finding a religious compromise, but Luther and the Roman authorities would not agree to it. The immovable dogma of papal supremacy prevented any final agreement. The next year a summons went out to a general council, but it did not meet until 1545. The Council assembled in a border city in the hope of satisfying the Germans who were insistent on reforms, and yet near enough to Rome to allow its control. The Jesuits engineered the procedure to suit the purposes of the papacy. The Council met intermittently during a period of eighteen years, but its results were not commensurate. No accommodation was made with the Protestants. Moderate reforms were adopted which would not weaken papal authority. The hierarchy was more closely knit and the papal supremacy in the Church was made unmistakably plain. Certain definitions were made regarding doctrines, such as justification, that were disputed by the Protestants. Doctrine had played but a small part in the Western councils of the Church, though medieval philosophy and theology had been prominent in educated circles. It was time for a clear pronouncement on the great problems of thought. The statements of the Council of Trent lacked clarity, but it was a distinct gain for the Church to attempt to make a declaration. The Council adhered to the seven sacraments, authorized officially the use of the Vulgate Bible of Jerome which had been used for nearly twelve centuries, and reaffirmed the equal authority of tradition.

Various commissions were appointed to carry out needed measures. One of the most important was the Congregation of the Index for the censorship of religious literature, which drew up a blacklist of offensive publications. A Tridentine Creed was prepared

which contained the Nicene statements, a summary of the decrees of Trent, and a confession of the primacy of the pope. This was required of all candidates for the clergy and of all university teachers. The Roman Catechism explained the creed and contained instructions for pastors. The ritual of the Church needed revision and a breviary was issued to provide it. The Inquisition presently was introduced into Italy and effectually checked any tendency to leave the Church. With the Inquisition, the Index, and the Jesuit influence over national policies, the Church was prepared to crush Protestantism everywhere, and religious wars were already on the calendar. Thus the Roman Catholic Church braced itself for its somewhat perilous voyage into the seas of modern thought and life.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. How was Protestantism different from and yet like Catholicism?
2. What were the main problems of Protestantism? How did they compare with the problems of the early Church?
3. Compare the Protestant varieties of organization for efficiency.
4. Explain the different positions of the Protestants on the sacraments.
5. How far did Protestantism contribute to the progress of individualism?
6. How did the Protestants meet the need of religious education?
7. What were the principal creeds and catechisms? Compare the Westminster and Heidelberg catechisms for substance of doctrine.
8. What specific results of the Reformation were most valuable from the present point of view?
9. Compare Luther with Loyola for character and achievement.
10. What were the permanent achievements of the Council of Trent?

For class discussion and debate

1. Which of the interpretations of the Lord's Supper had most value—Lutheran, Calvinistic, Zwinglian or Catholic?
2. How far did Protestantism help and how far hinder individual liberty?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. Erastianism.
2. Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*.
3. The Capuchins.

For longer written essays

1. The Oratory in Italy.
2. A comparison of Luther's Shorter Catechism and the Westminster Catechism.
3. The contribution of Calvinism to modern business enterprise.
4. Catholic censorship of literature.
5. The Jesuit doctrine of probabilism.

For conference and examination

1. A comparison of Calvin's discipline with the penitential system of the Catholic Church.

For maps and tables

1. Tables showing the common points of Catholics and Protestants and of the different Protestant sects.
2. A list of Protestant confessions and catechisms.
3. A map of Jesuit missions in America.

READING REFERENCES

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 TAWNEY. Religion and the Rise of Capitalism
 WEBER. The Protestant Ethic
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 WAKEMAN. History of the Church of England
 LINDSAY. History of the Reformation.
 WARD. The Counter Reformation
 CAMPBELL. The Jesuits
 PARKMAN. Jesuits in America
 PUTNAM. The Censorship of the Church of Rome
 WATKINS. A History of Penance
 SEDGWICK. Ignatius Loyola
 HUGHES. History of the Society of Jesus in North America

CHAPTER XX

PROBLEMS OF READJUSTMENT

AFTER EFFECTS OF THE REVOLT

THE Protestant revolt was so dynamic a factor in Europe that it was a long time after the earthquake before an equilibrium was reestablished. The tidal wave of feeling which had swept Europe was slow to subside. Theological controversies, rival ecclesiastical organizations, civil war between religious parties in which politics were mixed, are characteristic of the century from the death of Luther to the Peace of Westphalia. Inside each of the three principal movements, Lutheran, Calvinistic and Anglican, were groups which did not agree in certain opinions with the original leaders, and these disagreements provoked serious internal controversies. The Catholic Church had to reestablish its full authority in the countries where it was ascendant, and it continued to strive for the recovery of the countries which had revolted. Inside its own organization developed differences of opinion which threatened the unity of Catholicism. The story of the period is drab with the bickerings of theologians who had lost the spiritual essence of their religion in a war of words, and red with the carnage of those who fought for power in the state as much as for religious conviction. Much of it is a sordid tale which is hardly worth the telling, except as suggestive of the decline to which a reformation movement may go, which at first seemed an emprise of high idealism. The different sections of the narrative do not always seem to have a logical connection, but there is a thread of unity which runs through the whole period. It is the problem of readjustment between the old order and the new, and of mutual adjustments between Protestants who found it hard to agree on the doctrines and institutions that should take the place of Catholic forms which had been rejected.

The problems of the Catholic Church properly belong first, as that church was the representative of the old order; second, the

problems that vexed the Protestants of Germany where the Reformation began; third, the controversy in the Netherlands over the system of doctrine adopted from Geneva; fourth, the Puritan effort in England to modify both Church and State according to its own principles.

CATHOLIC RECOVERY

The decrees of the Council of Trent were not accepted universally by the Catholic states, and of course received no recognition from the Protestants. Even in countries where the sovereigns were ready representative bodies failed to act. Parts of Germany accepted the decisions of the Council. Parts of Italy and certain of the Swiss cantons did the same. In France neither doctrinal nor disciplinary decrees were published, and there was delay even in Spain. Yet the net result of the Council was to strengthen the papacy and the Roman Catholic Church generally. The demand for reforms, though not enough to purify the Curia, had the effect of a warning upon the clergy and stiffened their sense of clerical responsibility.

During the thirty years which followed the Council of Trent Catholicism recovered ground that seemed debatable territory. While the Council was holding its last session the religious wars were starting in France. The influence of Rome was in favor of an unrelenting policy against the Huguenots, and when the pope heard of the massacre of St. Bartholomew he ordered the *Te Deum* to be sung in Rome. Jesuits entered the country in large numbers. Pressure was brought to bear upon Henry of Navarre until he decided to become a Catholic.

Philip II of Spain was the most powerful champion of the Church. Stern in disposition, unrelenting in his purpose to destroy Protestantism, he ruled rigorously over regions where his control extended. Though he fought a losing battle with the Dutch and failed in his attempt to conquer England with his armada, he gave earnest moral support to all efforts to crush Protestantism. In Spain he used the Inquisition and the Index, kept people in ignorance of all new ideas until the universities decayed, and freely confiscated the property or took away the lives of those adjudged of heresy. All that could keep Spain from spiritual deadness under such conditions was an occasional monastic reform or an individual saint who embodied spiritual enthusiasm. Such a one was St. Teresa, who was canonized at Rome in 1622, a seer of visions and a devout nun, who

made her influence felt broadly through the peninsula. She was not merely an ecstatic mystic, for she was practical in good works and founded many new religious houses. Such introspection as that of St. Teresa produced in Molinos of Spain, Francis de Sales, prince-bishop of Geneva, and Madame Guyon of France a quietism which seemed dangerous to those who were devoted to the Church as sole ministers of God's grace. The Quietists found in opening their hearts to God an inner peace and assurance, but the Jesuits persecuted Madame Guyon, her books were burned and other property was destroyed, and she herself was imprisoned. Doubtless some of the mystics esteemed ecstasy too highly, but among them were saintly characters who found God without the mediation of the Church. And suspicious though the Church was of the mystics it always found a place for them.

THE JANSENISTS

At the opposite pole from the mystics were the Jansenists. They were a group of scholarly men who came into prominence in France because of their opposition to the Jesuits. They filled the place of the contemporary Puritans as critics, but they were too intellectual to get much of a following, and they lacked the stern moral purpose and force which made the Puritan movement so virile. Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres in Belgium after 1636, studied Augustine with deep appreciation and precipitated a controversy with the Jesuits by charging them with holding the doctrine and the moral principles of Pelagius. Other scholars rallied around Jansen. Pascal, famous for his *Provincial Letters*, lent the prestige of his name. Saint-Cyran made an academic doctrine a challenge to a war of theology. He was chaplain of the religious house of the Port Royalist nuns at Paris. But the Jansenists failed to make good their challenge. The pope condemned the *Augustinus* of Jansen and the Jansenists like good Catholics bowed to the decision, though they claimed the Gallican liberties as against the ultramontaniam of Rome and the Jesuits. As a consequence the Jesuits showed their enmity by breaking up the house at Port Royal and the Jansenists were scattered. The Jansenist controversy continued at times. As late as 1713 the pope in the famous bull *Unigenitus* condemned Quesnel, a Jansenist, for his *Moral Reflexions*. Some of the Jansenists took refuge in the Netherlands and there indoctrinated Dutch Catholics. They steadily refused to accommodate themselves fully to Rome. In France the

defense of the Jansenists encouraged those who disliked the tendency toward cynicism and atheism which was due in part to a distrust of Roman Catholicism, and it nourished the hostility to ecclesiastical authority which broke out later in the French Revolution. But the quarrels between parties in the Church alienated not a few from the Catholic Church.

CATHOLICS AND HUGUENOTS IN FRANCE

The Catholic Church in France produced several whose names are remembered for attainments in religion or philanthropy. Père Eudes established the new cult of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Olier founded St. Sulpice, which set the model for catechetical teaching. Vincent de Paul organized the Congregation of Missions for training evangelistic preachers and Sisters of Charity whose ministry has blessed so many millions of sufferers. All these gave evidence that spiritual religion did not fail to fructify in the ancient Church. But the masses of the people remained ignorant and superstitious. In his relations to the papacy Louis XIV insisted on the Gallican liberties in 1682, which caused temporary difficulties with the pope.

The religious situation in France was not conducive to peace. The old conflicts could not be forgotten, and the Huguenots threatened to become a political danger. The Edict of Nantes had given them not only the right to exist as non-Catholics and to have full liberty to think and worship in their own way, but it insured their safety by giving them certain cities which they might garrison. This was a real threat to national unity, and when Louis XIII was king his minister, Cardinal Richelieu, did his best to destroy the privileges of special cities, even to the extent of making war upon them. The capture of La Rochelle was a severe blow to the political separatism of the Huguenots. Richelieu carried out consistently the other provisions of the agreement, and under the protection of the absolutist government the Huguenots were safe from their Catholic enemies and were able to develop the industries for which they became famous. But before the seventeenth century was over Louis XIV decided to revoke the Edict of Nantes. This took place in 1685, and thereafter if the Huguenots would escape persecution and death they must leave their native land. Tens of thousands of them became exiles to Holland and England, and not a few found safe homes in America. Other countries profited from the industry, skill and sobriety of a class of people which France could ill afford to lose.

ACTIVITIES IN ITALY AND ENGLAND

In Italy real improvement took place at the papal court, less extravagance and better living. Pope Sixtus V was an energetic Franciscan who had reformed several monasteries before he was made pope. Once on the pontifical throne he crushed the bandits who terrorized the States of the Church, instituted economies in the expenditures of his court, and beautified Rome architecturally. He improved the church administration. He fixed the number of cardinals at seventy, which is still the nominal number, though vacancies occur frequently because most of the cardinals are elderly men. The functions of administration were distributed among fifteen committees of cardinals, known as congregations. He aimed blows against Protestants here and there. Jesuits were in control of education, and the Inquisition and the Index were used to protect against heresy.

England did not escape the proselyting efforts of Pope Sixtus V and the Jesuits. The instrument of propaganda was the English Catholic College at Douai in France, later removed to Rheims. Two hundred and fifty priests went into England in a single decade, but sixty of them suffered martyrdom. Elizabeth had no intention of being the victim of Jesuit plots or of modifying her religious policy. Since the royal family of Scotland was loyal to the Catholic Church until after Mary Queen of Scots, there was some hope of attaining the Catholic purpose in England when James Stuart came to the throne as successor of Elizabeth, but he enjoyed so well being his own master and had such high ideas of his divine right to rule that he was hopeless. His son, Charles I, could intrigue with Catholics and Charles II hobnob with the Catholic royalty of France, but they never declared for the old Church. When James II ventured to try to restore Catholicism in England he was deposed and the Government declared that no other Catholic prince should ever sit on the throne of England.

The seventeenth century saw the decline of whatever reforming zeal came out of the Counter Reformation. Spain, the most zealous daughter of the Church, was losing her superior position among the European nations. Protestant countries like Holland, England, and Sweden, were becoming prosperous and prominent. The discoveries in the New World made by Spain were turned into opportunities for trade and settlement by England, and gold which had once found its way to Spain went often into the pockets of Northerners. The

Jesuits quarreled among themselves and lost some of their power. The popes were bothered with wars, and in Germany came the Thirty Years' War with disaster to all parties.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

The Thirty Years' War broke out because neither Catholics nor Protestants would honestly keep the terms of the Peace of Augsburg agreed upon in 1555. After that peace the Lutherans were aggressive and continued to lay hands upon all church property that they could get and to hold it. Catholics resented this and recovered all that they could as they began to win back parts of Germany. Calvinists had no interest in keeping the peace because they had received no legal recognition. Had it not been for fear of one another, and because of the peaceable disposition of the reigning emperors of Germany, war might have come sooner than it did. It was likely to come in the end.

This became apparent in 1608 when a Protestant Union was formed for defense, followed by a Holy League of the Catholics the next year. The League was much more closely knit together than the loosely organized Protestant Union, and the Protestant cause continued to suffer because of the rivalries for leadership among the princes. It was ten years longer before war actually occurred. The characteristics of the war were the widening circles of states which became involved, and the intermingling of religious and political interests. The net result of the war was to bring peace between the warring interests, but at the cost of frightful suffering, enormous loss of life, and the complete devastation of the country.

The war started in a local quarrel in Bohemia, which soon involved the Protestant Union. The Bohemians substituted a Protestant for a Catholic prince, but Ferdinand of the Hapsburg family of Austria, the rightful ruler, was shortly elected emperor and that gave him the power to recover the revolting province. Bohemia had been lukewarm in its Catholicism ever since the days of John Huss, but its attempt to establish its independence was ill-starred, and Bohemian Protestantism was nearly destroyed.

At that point the Danes, who had accepted Lutheranism one hundred years before, came to the support of the German Protestants, but they were punished severely in a succession of battles and were driven back on their own territory, so that they were glad to sign a treaty of peace and retire from the war. These two campaigns, the

Bohemian and the Danish, were so disastrous that the Protestants became much alarmed. This feeling was increased by the action of the emperor who issued an Edict of Restitution in which he demanded that the Protestants give up all the ecclesiastical territories which they had seized unlawfully since the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. These included the property of two archbishoprics, nine bishoprics, and numerous monasteries. This action aroused the Lutherans, who had left the Calvinists to do most of the fighting, and precipitated the third period of the war.

Then it was that Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden intervened, like a knight of chivalry, and made the cause of the German Protestants his own. Besides his interest in Protestantism, for Sweden, like Denmark, had made Lutheranism its national religion, the Swedish king saw an opportunity to advance the national fortunes, for the war was assuming a political phase and there were chances of acquiring territory on the south side of the Baltic. Sweden was coming into prominence as a modern state and the Government was ambitious. Unfortunately the Protestant princes in Germany were jealous of the self-appointed leadership of Gustavus, and did not join forces with him until the city of Magdeburg was taken by the Catholics and its defenders cruelly maltreated. Then Protestants and Catholics joined in two battles which restored Protestant fortunes, but took the life of the Swedish king. After that the war degenerated into a struggle for political advantage, in which Swedes and French joined for the spoil that they might get, and Germany suffered terribly for years until her people were greatly reduced in number and thousands of productive acres and many thriving towns were devastated. Sheer exhaustion led finally to peace. The treaty which was arranged after prolonged negotiation brought to an end the long wars of religion in central Europe, and virtually marks the end of the period of the Reformation. The terms of the treaty were both political and religious. The powers outside Germany gained border territory as they desired, and the independence of Switzerland and the Netherlands was acknowledged formally. Once for all it was settled that Protestantism had a legal right to exist, and Calvinism was put on even footing with Lutheranism. But as before the princes and not the people were to decide the kind of religion for their people, so that the close union between Church and State continued. The future alignment of Europe was fixed. Germany and Switzerland were part Catholic and part Protestant, but France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy,

were by this time definitely Catholic, while England, Scotland, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries were Protestant. From that time new interests, economic and political, were demanding more attention than religion.

INNER HISTORY OF THE GERMAN PROTESTANTS

It was the failure to achieve unity that wrought such havoc among the Protestants. Had they been united from the first they might have presented such a strong front to the Catholics that even an emperor might not have defeated them. But they were divided politically, ecclesiastically, and doctrinally. It was natural that the Lutherans should think of themselves as the rightful representatives of Protestantism in Germany. But both Zwinglianism and Calvinism had made inroads into German territory. Constance and Strassburg accepted Zwinglianism, though the former favored Lutheranism later. Before the death of Calvin the influence of his faith penetrated into western Germany. The University of Geneva spread that influence in humanistic and court circles. Some were influenced by the Puritan principles of Geneva, others liked the theology. As early as 1561 one Jesuit wrote to another: "Calvin seems about to supplant Luther, not only in France but in Germany also.

The Elector of the Rhenish Palatinate in 1563 invited the preparation of the Heidelberg Catechism as the basis of doctrine for his principality, and presbyteries were introduced as courts for the discipline of the laity. From that time Calvinism was in the saddle in that part of western Germany. The Heidelberg Catechism became the standard of faith of Swiss and German Calvinists, and with it the Second Helvetic Confession prepared by Bullinger, Zwingli's successor at Zurich, and Myconius, a German reformer, in 1566. The Calvinists of the Palatinate were strengthened by Dutch immigrants who fled from the miseries of the war of independence in Holland. In Brandenburg, which joined with Prussia was one day to give the Hohenzollern line of emperors to modern Germany, Calvinism was placed on a par with Lutheranism, an indication of the union of the two which was to be achieved in 1817.

Inside Lutheranism itself controversies arose because of differences of opinion between the strict Lutherans and the Philippists who followed Melancthon. As long as Luther lived the peaceful disposition of Melancthon made it possible for him to submit to the stronger personality of Luther, but the Greek professor had ideas of

his own and after Luther's death the differences became acute. Melanchthon could not accept Luther's explanation of the mass, nor did he agree that man was entirely helpless in God's hands. He found a larger place for good works, especially in opposition to Lutherans whose antinomianism was making them flabby morally. Melanchthon became more outspoken, and presently two parties ranged themselves against one another. The followers of Melanchthon were dubbed Crypto-Calvinists in the belief that they were really semi-Calvinists. Princes tried to harmonize the differences, synods met, and theological statements were published both before and after Melanchthon's death. At last in 1577 several of the leading theologians drew up a Formula of Concord. This was submitted to the princes and the Protestant theologians of Germany, and was signed generally. Three years later a *Book of Concord* was published which constituted the body of Lutheran doctrines. It included the three historic creeds, the Augsburg Confession with its Apology, which had been the work of Melanchthon, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms of Luther, the Smalcald Articles, and the Formula of Concord.

The results are a reminder of the Christological controversies of early centuries. As then, the conclusion reached seemed to harmonize the two parties, but virtually it was a victory for the strict Lutherans and numbers of the Melanchthonians joined the Calvinists. But it cleared the air, and the Lutherans were free to combat the Jesuits who were diligently winning back Protestants to the fold of mother church, and to make preparations for the 'Thirty Years' War. It was the misfortune of Lutheranism that it depended on orthodoxy as a basis of union and lost its original spiritual energy in scholastic discussions as fruitless as those of medieval scholasticism. Pastoral activities were too often neglected, sermons were polemical, and the presses groaned with controversial writings. The Bible was claimed to be verbally inspired, of equal authority in every part, and it was used as an armory of proof texts to buttress the arguments of both sides. Not until George Calixtus published his *Moral Theology* in 1634 did the theological warfare begin to give way to a consideration of the ethical obligations of true Christians.

THE ARMINIAN CONTROVERSY

Differences in doctrine developed similarly in the Netherlands. The Dutch provinces had won their independence when a truce was

agreed upon with Spain in 1609. In spite of the struggle for existence the country had prospered. Manufacturing and commerce made great strides, and population increased. Dutch sailors rivaled the English on all the seas. Before the war for independence was ended the Dutch East India Company was organized, and in the seventeenth century Holland became the rival of England for empire in the Far East. In the year of the truce the foundations of Dutch interests in America were laid. Two political parties contended at length over the issue of a centralized or a federated government, and simultaneously it was a debated question whether religion should or should not be under the control of the government. The principle of central control was victorious in both respects.

Dutch Protestantism was of the Calvinistic type, and Calvinistic doctrine was taught in the universities. But in 1602 Jacob Arminius became a professor in the University of Leyden. A colleague, Gomarus, charged him with being lukewarm in his attitude toward the doctrine of predestination and investigation followed. This aroused discussion and a national synod was planned to settle the controversy, when Arminius died. His sympathizers then issued a Remonstrance, appealing to the provincial governments of Holland and Friesland for toleration. In their statement they opposed five items to the famous five points of Calvinism. They would modify the theory of unconditional election of certain human beings by the sovereign will of God by saying that election was based on the divine foreknowledge of man's faith. They asserted that the atonement of Christ was not limited to the few elect but was universal in its scope for all who would accept it. Instead of affirming human helplessness they contented themselves with admitting a need of spiritual regeneration. Over against the doctrine of divine grace as irresistible they set the resistibility of grace by man. And where the Calvinist insisted on the perseverance of the elect to the end the Arminian was doubtful about perseverance.

At last in 1618 the long awaited Synod met at Dort. It is the most famous but one of the synods of the Reformed churches, that is, those of the Calvinistic type. Eighty-four theologians and eighteen secular officials composed its membership. Four representatives came from King James I of England. Switzerland and several German states were represented. Only three Arminians were present, and they were dismissed after a plea for toleration. The issue was long drawn out, the sessions of the Synod lasting six months. The

Synod published ninety-three canons and indorsed the Belgic Confession of 1561 and the Heidelberg Catechism. The Remonstrants were required to accept the canons, give up their churches, and retire from the country, but after a few years milder counsels prevailed and some of them found a place again in the Dutch churches. The decisions of the Synod were accepted by Reformed churches elsewhere.

The Arminian contention was an attempt to preserve the human element in salvation, which had been lost from sight by the over-emphasis placed on the sovereignty of God. The Arminians emphasized the ethical element in the soteriological transaction. They further denied that guilt was inherited from Adam; it was only the sin of the individual that made him guilty, yet divine grace alone could save from the inheritance of a sinful nature and the consequent certainty of incurring guilt before God. The Arminians were diligent students of the Bible, and contributed to Biblical learning by freeing exegesis from the control of dogma. They cared little for creeds and were of a tolerant disposition.

The most illustrious of the Arminians was Hugo Grotius, who is known as a founder and codifier of international law, but he was also a theologian of note. He propounded a novel theory of the atonement, which used the political terminology of his day rather than the feudal language of Anselm's famous theory. Man as the subject of God the sovereign has been disobedient and upset the moral order. God must preserve that order and therefore accepts Christ's sacrifice of himself as a penal example to show that the sin of the individual deserves punishment. The death of Christ has a moral effect which vindicates the holiness and righteousness of God, and God's willingness to pardon the sinner through Christ's sacrifice vindicates the freedom of the divine will. This moral government theory of the atonement became the generally accepted theory of Protestant churches.

RISE OF THE PURITANS IN ENGLAND

Across the Channel in England still another readjustment was in process of accomplishment. The Puritanism which reared its head in the Church of England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth asserted itself in the new century when James I became king. It made progress as a religious and a political movement until it

resulted in a temporary revolution which later after a conservative reaction became a permanent readjustment.

The growth of Puritanism came in a time when the middle class of the English people was coming into prominence. Men of that class were becoming more independent of the higher classes as they acquired land, and were becoming self-conscious socially and politically. It was the time when England was commencing that mercantile and colonial expansion which was to go far overseas and create the British Empire. At home prosperous merchants were buying up landed estates and beginning to take on style after the usual custom of the newly rich. Considerable immigration was adding to the prosperous middle-class French and Flemish Protestants who possessed manufacturing skill. These factors encouraged the assertion of civil rights and promoted the tendency to demand political and ecclesiastical reforms. Leaders appeared who were trained in the English universities. Oxford and Cambridge were receiving more students than usual at that time, and many of them were boys of humble birth who were aided by wealthy patrons.

There are several steps in the progress of Puritanism. The first was taken in the time of Edward VI, when Protestantism was winning its way to control. Bishop John Hooper of Gloucester started the Vestment controversy by refusing to wear the surplice. That objection broadened out to include opposition to the cross, the ring, the act of confirmation, godfathers and godmothers, saints' days, and clerical absolution. Some of the Puritans rebelled when Elizabeth attempted to enforce uniformity. The second step was Cartwright's effort to substitute the presbyterian organization for the long-established episcopacy. He was not seconded by all the Puritans, but those who had come directly under Genevan influence were his supporters. A third step carried a few out of the Anglican Church altogether.

Comparing the Puritans in general with the regular Anglicans it is evident that the rank and file of Anglicans were content with the changes which had been made, while the Puritans wished for more changes in worship and ordinances, and some of them wanted a change in organization. None of them wished to abolish the national Church or to escape from it. They believed as Luther had that it was possible to carry out reforms inside the established system. But they were firmly resolved to make greater changes than had been made as yet. Anglicans regarded vestments and such details as matters to be

settled by the constituted authorities. The Puritans claimed that there was a higher law against them. Both parties believed in using force to compel the observance of customs, but Anglicans believed that the civil power had the right to regulate religious matters, while the Puritans wished the Church to decide and the civil magistrates to enforce church action, as was the way at Geneva. Neither party was concerned primarily with the spiritual interests of the individual, but the tendency of the Puritans was to get away from the formalism and the ceremonialism that they believed obstructed the workings of the divine Spirit.

The English sovereigns instinctively opposed Puritanism. Elizabeth liked ceremony and display, she regarded uniformity in religion as essential to national unity, and she disliked the Puritan tendency toward independency. James I had had experience with Scottish presbyteries and much preferred the episcopacy of the Church of England, and Puritanism did not accord with his cherished doctrine of the divine right of kings. When the Puritans disclosed their political opposition he was of course obstinate in the maintenance of the absolutist principle.

FORCES BACK OF PURITANISM

The religious forces which contributed to the progress of Puritan principles included Wycliffe, Knox and Whitgift, and the group of Marian exiles which had been on the Continent. Wycliffe wanted to get rid of the ceremonies of papal Christianity. He put new stress on Christ and the Bible and the doctrine of predestination. Knox was for a time a pastor of English churches and at Geneva was the minister of the English exiles. As the dominant personality in Presbyterian Scotland he was continually in the mind of those who wished to reform further the Church of England. The intolerance of Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, and his persistent opposition to Cartwright and any attempt at nonconformity, provoked discussion and opposition, and had the usual effect of making converts to the party that was attacked.

The Genevan influence reacted upon England chiefly through the Marian exiles. Through them came the stern Calvinistic theology, the fondness for simplicity in worship, and the liking for strict moral discipline. Puritanism became synonymous with plain living and high thinking. Not the least among the Continental influences was

the Geneva Bible. There had been English Bibles before, from Tyn-dale, Coverdale and their imitators, but the Geneva Bible was a pocket Bible, convenient for popular reference, and it had Calvinistic notes for interpretation. It was printed with Roman type instead of the customary old black letter, and it had verse divisions for the first time. The Puritans knew their Bibles as few other Englishmen did, and they believed themselves the heirs of the promises made to Israel. It was as if England had become Palestine, and the old conflicts between Hebrews and Canaanites were being reproduced. It was in the same spirit that the Puritans who went to America spoke of New England as Canaan.

PROGRESS OF PURITANISM

At the outset of the reign of James I the Puritans presented to him the Millenary Petition for further reforms. The next year the king called a conference of twenty-three men at Hampton Court to compose the differences in the Church, at which the Puritans modestly asked that they might be excused from following customs that were distasteful to them. But James insisted on conformity. Whitgift died and was succeeded by Bancroft, who already had shown his attitude of unfriendliness in the Convocation of the Anglican clergy. Laws were put into force against the Puritans and scores of nonconformist ministers were excommunicated, while some of them were banished and others thrown into prison. The one constructive act of the time was the appointment of a commission of scholars to make a translation of the Bible which the king could authorize. The result was the Authorized, or King James's Version, published in 1611. It was printed with Roman type instead of the customary old black letter.

THE POLITICAL ISSUE

Politically the reign of James was a failure. The people of England had been advancing in their ideas of government faster than the sovereigns. The Tudor principle of absolutism was welcome at the beginning in order to end the civil strife of the Wars of the Roses and to establish a firm government. It helped to protect England against foreign invasion and made the nation independent from Rome. These were strong recommendations to the Tudor régime, and the personal popularity of their native Queen Elizabeth made the people patient with her autocracy, especially since she worked through

such ministers as Lord Burleigh. But when a foreign dynasty replaced the Tudors and Stuart kings asserted their doctrine of the divine right of sovereigns to rule their people, a spirit of impatience soon became evident. The king was fond of reminding his subjects that he was under God the rightful owner of the land, that they should look upon him as a father who knew what was best for his national family, and that they had no right to rebel even if the government was not so good as it should be.

Against such claims as these the people remembered how they had won rights of their own from the Plantagenet kings, and they looked to Parliament to enforce their claims. The House of Commons was their stronghold and there the battle for supremacy was to be fought. The champions of the people claimed that the king could not tax without the consent of Parliament. When James asserted his right to make the former collection of ship money he was reminded that such special privileges were not permissible. They claimed the right to debate freely, to vote supplies, and to legislate for the public welfare.

As soon as Charles I became king he showed his untrustworthiness, and when he needed money for war with Spain Parliament saw its advantage and refused to make appropriations unless he would consent to remedy abuses. The result was the adoption of the Petition of Right in 1628, one of the documents of the British Constitution which has proved a bulwark to the liberties of the people. It contained prohibitions of four practices which were exceedingly obnoxious. No longer might the king tax without the consent of Parliament, imprison anyone without due process of law, impose soldiers upon any household, or proclaim martial law in time of peace. The victory of this petition over the king was the first decisive triumph of the party of the people.

The determined opponents of episcopacy tried to put through Parliament a Root and Branch Bill with the purpose of abolishing the existing church order, but such a radical measure did not receive the necessary support. The High Commission Court was swept out of existence. When Parliament was acting, the radicals in the country with the backing of parliamentary commissions demolished shrines and defaced churches by destroying altars and images. They tore up prayer books and surplices, insulted clergymen, and fired upon crucifixes. Meetings of enthusiasts were held frequently in London, where laymen harangued those who attended.

WAR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

At last came an appeal to arms. Civil war began in the autumn of 1642 and continued for four years. The country was divided roughly with the south and east supporting Parliament, the north and west loyal to the king. Most of the House of Lords and about one-third of the House of Commons were on the side of the king. The landed nobles, the church officials, and the universities were conservative; the townsmen were inclined to be radical. But geographical and social lines were not drawn rigidly. At first the Royalists had the advantage of trained troops, and Parliament appealed to the Scotch for aid. Scotland stipulated that in return for her aid the revolutionists should agree to make Presbyterianism the religion of the realm, if that were possible. That was agreed to in a solemn league and covenant. Then in 1644 a Scottish army crossed the border. Meanwhile Oliver Cromwell was raising an army in the eastern counties, composed of God-fearing men, which when well drilled was to prove one of the marvels of history. In the summer of 1644 Cromwell's Ironsides gave a good account of themselves, and after the whole Parliamentary army had been organized on the New Model it administered a crushing defeat to the Royalists at Naseby in 1645. Henceforth it was only a question of time when the king must give way. He decided to entrust himself to the Scots, but they soon turned him over to Parliament. The king played off one party against another with complete unscrupulousness, and the radicals in Parliament appointed a high court of justice which condemned the king, and he was executed by beheading.

THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY

The outbreak of war left Parliament to the Puritans. The bishops were excluded from the House of Lords and the Royalists withdrew from the House of Commons. The Presbyterians were in control of the House of Commons, and they were eager to use their power to reorganize the national Church. As foreshadowed in the Grand Remonstrance which had passed Parliament already, an assembly of ministers was called at Westminster "to consider all things necessary for the peace and good government of the Church and represent the results of the consultations to Parliament."

The Westminster Assembly was one of the outstanding ecclesiastical gatherings in the long history of the Church. It was not limited in membership to the English, and its conclusions became the doc-

trinal basis of most dissenting bodies in England and America for two centuries. It was the crystallization of the Puritan movement in England, and Puritanism was more than a denomination. Its English members were nominated by Parliament, Scotland sent eight commissioners and delegates attended from foreign-speaking churches in England. The king forbade the meeting and most of the Anglican clergy did not attend. The Assembly was regulated by Parliament, which took over the ecclesiastical functions of the king, and forbade the consideration of any matters which it did not submit to the Assembly.

The Assembly met in Westminster Abbey in the summer of 1643 and proceeded to a revision of the Thirty-nine Articles, agreed unanimously on a Directory for Public Worship, which was substituted in the churches for the prayer book, and tackled the subject of polity. Five Congregationalists in the Assembly pressed their own opinions in favor of independency, but the wish of the large majority was to make presbyterianism the form of government for the national Church. Sectarian groups were springing up, some of them radical and disposed to declare their freedom from all law. This made the members of the Assembly wary, and they insisted on adopting the system of Geneva. Cromwell exerted his influence to induce Parliament to be lenient with tender consciences in putting into force the conclusions of the Assembly, but no one championed episcopacy and Anglicans were penalized if they did not accept the changes which had been made.

The Assembly completed its work by providing two catechisms. The Larger Catechism, which contained a full exposition of doctrine and polity, and the Shorter Catechism, which omitted the subject of polity and so proved acceptable to churches outside the Presbyterian fold. Congregationalists and Baptists brought up their children on it for the substance of faith. Most famous perhaps of all the deliverances of the Assembly was the Westminster Confession of Faith. It was strictly Calvinistic and as such not only met the needs of English Presbyterians, but it was adopted by the Church of Scotland to take the place of the Scottish creed of 1560. It became the basis of Congregationalist creeds, and it was the model for statements of doctrine by English and American Baptists. But the turn of the revolutionary wheel soon dispossessed the Presbyterians. Parliament came under the dominance of the Army and the most obstinate leaders of the Presbyterians withdrew. Within a month after the

death of King Charles Parliament abolished the Westminster Assembly.

ASCENDANCY OF OLIVER CROMWELL

The next eleven years brought the steady march of Puritan progress to the point where independency triumphed over both presbyterianism and episcopacy. Parliament presently surrendered its powers into the hands of Cromwell, who used the Army to stifle outbreaks in Scotland and Ireland. He made England respected abroad, and at home he encouraged education and carried out reforms in political representation and in penal laws, which unfortunately were repealed at his death because they were ahead of the times.

Calvin tried to maintain a national Church, but to have it comprehensive to include various types. He was tolerant in disposition and would not persecute even the Catholics, though they could not vote. He thought that forms and ordinances were secondary in comparison with personal piety. To make sure of the fitness of ministers he depended not on any ordaining and governing presbytery, but on a board of commissioners known as Triers, whose function was to approve those nominated to church livings, and another board charged with the task of ejecting the unfit. This loose system of national establishment which permitted any parish to determine its own organization, did not add strength to Cromwell's position and he found his policies opposed frequently by those who should have appreciated his liberality. The fall of the Puritan Commonwealth soon after the death of Cromwell brought all these experiments to an abrupt end.

ECLIPSE OF PURITANISM

Revolutions are seldom settled with one turn of the wheel. The Puritans overreached themselves and by 1660 the nation was ready in reaction to take back the Stuart monarchy and national episcopacy. Most of the people did not like the moral rigor of the Puritan régime, and Charles II set the example of gaiety in the life of the Court. The new king had lived long in France and was on the best of terms with the French monarchy and the Catholic Church. He did what he could to make it easier for Catholics in England by proposing general toleration, but Protestants were suspicious. He found a place for Presbyterians as royal chaplains and offered them several bishoprics, and the Savoy Conference of leaders of both groups

attempted to find a common ground on which both could stand, but the Puritans asked too much, and the idea of comprehension of all in one church was abandoned. The royal policy was soon dictated by Lord Clarendon, a close friend of the king, and he was opposed to Puritanism, Presbyterian or Independent. It was he who was responsible for the Clarendon Code of repressive laws against non-conformists.

As far as possible the old order was reconstructed. The Episcopal clergy who had been deprived of their livings were restored, and the bishops were invited back into the House of Lords. Sectarian meetings were broken up and hundreds of persons were imprisoned. Ecclesiastical courts were set up again, except the High Commission Court. Then Parliament passed the Corporation Act, which was intended to put local government into the hands of those who were loyal to king and Church. A commission was appointed to revise the Book of Common Prayer, and then Parliament passed a new Act of Uniformity in worship and episcopal ordination. This act resulted in the ejection of hundreds of Presbyterian ministers who had been officiating in Anglican churches, but never had been episcopally ordained. Some of these men, like Richard Baxter, were the most spiritually minded men in the Church, and while from this time the Presbyterians declined in England the loss of the Church of England was equally great. Richard Baxter, the author of *The Saint's Everlasting Rest*, was the best-known Presbyterian of his time, but he suffered with the others. He believed in the policy of comprehension of all Protestants in the Church of England, but the trend of the times was against him.

In order to prevent nonconformist ministers from preaching anywhere a Conventicle Act was added to the statute book in 1664. All religious meetings except Anglican were forbidden. This was followed by the Five Mile Act, which forbade any nonconformist minister or teacher to teach in schools or go within five miles of a corporate town where he had officiated. In 1673 the Test Act completed the obnoxious code, requiring all persons holding office to receive the sacrament from a minister of the Church of England and to deny the doctrine of transubstantiation. This law was aimed particularly against Catholics.

BUNYAN AND MILTON

Intolerance in religion is not the only mark of the English Church in the seventeenth century. Inside the Anglican fold George Her-

bert reflected his saintly character in hymns and poems, and Jeremy Taylor in his books, particularly *Holy Living*, maintained the succession of devotional writers of literary ability. John Bunyan, a humble tinker of Bedfordshire, was a victim of the oppressive laws because he continued active as a Baptist preacher, but he improved a long incarceration in Bedford jail in writing literary masterpieces of evangelicalism. His *Grace Abounding* was his own spiritual autobiography. His *Pilgrim's Progress* was the gospel which he preached. Written in simple, picturesque language with a dramatic intensity and a wealth of imagery, it captured the imagination of the English people and was translated into many foreign tongues. The book visualized religion so that a wayfaring man might not err in seeking the path of life. It was the prose epic of human need, the charter of human hope.

John Milton had been secretary to Cromwell in the Commonwealth Government, but he found time to write his *Paradise Lost*, which won him fame for his magnificent conception of the human sinner and the God of justice against Whom it is futile to rebel. Grand in conception, dignified in utterance, dramatic in action, beautiful in imagery, it was as noble as a great cathedral or a musical symphony. Like Bunyan, Milton was one of the most effective of Puritan preachers with his pen. Bunyan, Milton and Baxter are the great names of Puritanism during the period of eclipse.

After a few years the harsh laws fell into disuse and the nation drifted toward a second revolution as it became apparent that another attempt was likely to be made to restore Catholicism. Charles II died in 1685 and was succeeded by his brother, James II. He was on the point of pronouncing in favor of Catholicism, when he was compelled to abdicate, and in 1689 the Edict of Toleration put all Protestants on a legal footing.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. What were the principal problems of readjustment? Explain the Jansenist controversy.
2. Account for the fortunes of the Protestants in France from 1590 to 1690.
3. What were the causes and the consequences of the Thirty Years' War? Account for its leadership.
4. What were the issues among German Protestants in the latter half of the sixteenth century?
5. Outline the history of Dutch Arminianism and compare its main points with Calvinism.

6. Compare the Anselmic doctrine of the atonement with that of Hugo Grotius.
7. What were the stages in the growth of Puritanism in England, and the causes of its success?
8. Why did not the climax come under the Tudor sovereigns? What was the relation of Elizabeth to Puritanism?
9. Why is the Westminster Assembly to be classed with the Diet of Augsburg in 1530? Give a statement about the subsequent influence of the Westminster Confession.
10. Grade the comparative influence of Cromwell, Milton, and Bunyan on the English mind.

For class discussion or debate

1. Resolved, that the political issue was more important for England than the religious.
2. Resolved, that the Protestants were most to blame for the Thirty Years' War.
3. Was England a republic between 1649 and 1660?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. St. Teresa.
2. The Douai Bible.
3. The Peace of Westphalia.
4. The Vestment Controversy of Hooper.

For longer written essays

1. The contributions of Hugo Grotius to international law.
2. A comparison of Oliver Cromwell and William the Silent in ability and character.
3. A comparison of the Westminster Confession with the Augsburg Confession.
4. The High Commission Court.
5. A comparison of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* with Baxter's *Saint's Rest* as interpretations of Puritanism.

For conference and examination

1. The Geneva Bible compared with the Authorized Version of King James I and the Vulgate.

For maps and tables

1. A map to show the English Civil War.
2. A map to show the religious alignment of the Continent in 1650.
3. Summarize in comparative tables the successes and failures of Puritanism in England between 1560 and 1660.

READING REFERENCES

Sources

Westminster Confession
Augsburg Confession
PASCAL. Provincial Letters; Thoughts
DE SALES. Introduction to a Devout Life
MILTON. Paradise Lost
BUNYAN. Pilgrim's Progress
BAXTER. Saint's Everlasting Rest; Call to the Unconverted
GARDINER. Constitutional Documents illustrative of the Puritan Revolution

Secondary Guides

TULLOCH. English Puritanism and Its Leaders
HERON. Short History of Puritanism
GREGORY. Puritanism
GREEN. Short History of the English People
GARDINER. Oliver Cromwell
—— The First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution
FLYNN. Influence of Puritanism on the Political and Religious Thought of the English
JACOBS. Book of Concord
HENDERSON. Short History of Germany
GARDINER. The Thirty Years' War
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—— Beginnings of Arminianism
GARDINER. History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate
MAKOWER. Constitutional History and Institution of the Church of England

CHAPTER XXI

THE RISE OF THE FREE CHURCHES

PERMANENCE OF ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY

THROUGH all the changes of Christian history the people never had escaped from some kind of authority in religion. Jesus made it a man's privilege to deal with God directly and to follow the leadings of his Spirit. But Jewish Christians could not get rid of the legal traditions of Judaism. Greek Christians were bound within the thought forms of their age and accepted the decisions of councils as to how they should think. The Catholic Church harked back to apostolic tradition for its authority to teach, and the diocesan bishop exercised authority in discipline and in the ecclesiastical organization. Both apostolic tradition and episcopal control centered in the Roman papacy and remained authoritative through the Middle Ages. When the Christian anchorites sought freedom to live their own religious life whether in solitude or under a monastic roof, they were brought under the discipline of some rule, of which the Benedictine was chief. When a certain few like Abelard ventured to think for themselves instead of accepting unquestioningly the dictum of clerical opinion, they were immured in a monastery. When the Waldensians criticized the priests and went to the Bible for instruction, they became victims of Catholic intolerance because they dared to question authority. Augustine advocated compulsion in dealing with schism. Thomas Aquinas favored the death penalty for heresy. Pope Innocent III urged a crusade against the Albigensians, and all through the last part of the Middle Ages it was the regular Catholic policy to punish irregularity in faith or practice.

The Reformation did not free the people from religious authority. In the first flush of his enthusiasm Luther claimed large liberty for the Christian man, but he drew back from his principle of private judgment in religious matters when he saw the tendency to radicalism. The decision at the Peace of Augsburg and also of Westphalia gave to the prince of each German state the power to determine

the kind of religion for the people of his state. The path to freedom was not in Germany. Zwingli would not tolerate Anabaptists at Zurich. Calvin secured the death of Servetus in Geneva. Wherever as in Germany the Government had control in religion the principle of intolerance prevented individual freedom to think and organize. For religious guidance Protestants turned to the Bible instead of relying on the Church, and it became an inerrant authority. In Scandinavia and the Netherlands, the one Luther and the other Calvinistic, the state controlled religion, but in the Netherlands the determination of events was in the hands of church courts. Early in the seventeenth century the Dutch churches and certain other delegates meeting in Synod at Dort expelled the Arminians. But there was greater freedom in the Netherlands, at least for exiles, both to think and to associate, than elsewhere on the Continent.

In England Queen Elizabeth required uniformity in faith and practice, and James I would not permit the Puritans to modify the standards. Puritan victory in the civil war temporarily brought a change of fortune, but the disposition of all parties in the Church of England was to be intolerant of independence in religion. With the restoration of the old order in Church and State in 1660 came the drastic Clarendon Code and the imprisonment of men like Bunyan. There was no path to freedom in the Church of England of the seventeenth century. Puritanism was cast in the rigid mold of Calvinism, and with the strict dogmatism that characterized it little promise of freedom was to be discovered. Yet the path to freedom was blazed when the principle of the personal responsibility of every man for himself to God was accepted. Given that principle, it was impossible forever to bind a man's thinking or action. Puritanism was essentially a protest against the conservatism of those in control, but it became the training ground of certain bolder groups who ventured to act on the principle of individual right to create their own religious associations.

BEGINNINGS OF INDEPENDENCY

In all reform movements a few people are never content with the progress achieved. All shades of religious opinion were visible in England as the seventeenth century opened. First, were the Catholics who hoped to see again the establishment of Romanism in the realm. Second, were the conservative Anglicans, who in their love of ritualism and their liking for ways that were old wished to retain

as much as possible of the ecclesiastical faith and customs of the past. Third, were the Puritans of varying degrees of intensity, seeking to reform the Church from within and to bring it nearer to the Genevan model. Some did not object to bishops, many wanted presbyterian courts, but they were agreed in their opposition to the elaborate cultus of Anglicanism. Last of the varieties were the Separatists. They were the few men and women who despaired of the desired purification in the Church of England and determined to organize separately. With a close adherence to Scripture they found no sufficient authority for a national Church of worldly minded people. In the spirit of the early Christian brotherhoods those who were likeminded began to meet in small conventicles and to choose their own leaders. They accepted no authority outside of the local congregation to which they belonged, and therefore were called later Congregationalists, but at first they were merely Independents.

Within ten years of Elizabeth's accession to the throne such a Congregational group was meeting in London, and became known as the Privy Church. It called itself "a poor congregation whom God hath separated from the churches of England and from the mingled and false worshipping therein used." The police broke up the meetings and the leaders were put into prison. In 1581 another Separatist group was organized as a Congregational Church at Norwich. Its leader was Robert Browne, a Cambridge graduate ordained in the Church of England. The group soon found it advisable to cross the Channel to Holland and found asylum in the city of Middleburg. There Browne published his Congregational principles in a book entitled *Reformation Without Tarrying for Any*, which became the platform of the Congregationalists. He declared that a true church is "a company or number of Christians or believers, who by a willing covenant made with their God are under the government of God and Christ." This meant regenerate membership only. A second principle was the control of affairs by the local church. The people were to choose their own officers and no ecclesiastical courts were to exercise discipline. The civil government was to be respected, but it was not to have jurisdiction. Browne proved an unstable leader, and the Church broke into factions and disappeared, but the principles that were laid down became the basis of a new kind of religious organization in England and America.

In Amsterdam another Congregational Church was known as the Ancient Exiled Church. It was composed of London exiles who were

led for a time in England by Henry Barrowe. Like Browne, he was a Cambridge graduate, but he differed in preferring the presbyterian arrangement of local church government. He would give the direction of affairs to the officers rather than to the members of churches, but every church should be independent. This Barrowism was semi-Presbyterian, while Brownism was pure Congregationalism. Another group from Scrooby in England found refuge in Leyden, and from its number went the Pilgrims to America in 1620. The tendency of these small congregations was to put too much emphasis on polity, to magnify minor differences, to fret one another with petty matters of discipline, and to split up into small divisions. In themselves they are of small consequence, but as representatives of religious independency and as pioneers of a congregational movement that was to spread abroad they were epochal.

Among the exiled groups was a company from Gainsboro in England which settled in Amsterdam. Its leader was John Smyth. He too was a Cambridge man, but separatism appealed to him. Smyth and his friends found themselves conscientiously inhibited from communing with the London congregation in Amsterdam, and soon he found himself dissatisfied with his infant baptism. This led to his baptizing himself over again and then administering the ordinance to others. But this did not satisfy him long, for he came to feel that he had no authority for such a revolutionary act, and he withdrew from all association in religion. His career is an example of the extent to which the principle of independency could carry the individual. The few who had accepted adult baptism at the hands of Smyth formed the first Baptist Church among the English people, returning to England and settling in London in 1611. Smyth and the Baptists maintained the doctrine of believers' baptism, which separated them from the Congregationalists who kept the Anglican and Catholic custom of baptizing infants. Smyth vigorously wrote in defense of a second Baptist conviction that magistrates had no right to interfere with a man's religion. That principle of freedom was slow to receive recognition in English-speaking lands. In doctrine these first Baptists were Arminian, unlike most of the later Baptists who were Calvinistic.

CONGREGATIONALISTS IN NEW ENGLAND

Ninety years before Robert Browne published the principles of Congregationalism a Genoese sailor in the employ of Spain had

sailed out into the unplumbed western ocean and had discovered the island fringe of a new continent. Other voyagers had explored the American coast and had made claims of ownership for their nations. Spanish soldiers and missionaries had penetrated the Gulf coast and the Southwest. Frenchmen were making their way into Canada on the north. Between them the English had made claims to territory, but had been slow to do more. After several fruitless attempts a trading company had established an outpost in Virginia in 1607, and one or two fishermen's landings had been preempted on the New England coast. Many harbors beckoned coasting ships, and outflowing streams invited exploration. Land in abundance stretched indefinitely westward. When they heard stories of these things landless Englishmen, sons of Saxon and Viking sires, felt the call of the West. When persecuted sectaries gave it thought it rose before their vision as a land of promise and refuge.

The Scrooby Congregationalists in Leyden, longing to live on English soil and to have only English neighbors for their children, were able to make an arrangement to emigrate. Overcoming handicaps of poverty and unseaworthy vessels, they were able to make a winter settlement at Plymouth in Massachusetts in 1620, and at once they set up their Congregationalism along with their homes. Ten years later a second settlement started on Massachusetts Bay around Boston Harbor. The settlers were Puritans who were out of sympathy with Church and State at home and who saw an opportunity for better fortunes in America. They were conformists in England, but the first Church at Salem adopted the Congregational principle of limiting church membership to persons of spiritual qualification, and affiliated itself with the Congregational Church at Plymouth. Other churches of the Massachusetts Colony followed the example of Salem with the result that two Congregational colonies were planted on the Massachusetts shore. The progress of events in England in the decade of the 'thirties before the meeting of the Long Parliament was so discouraging to the Puritans that thousands of them found their way to New England and to the West Indies. Small beginnings of settlement had been made in New Hampshire, and Connecticut received colonists at New Haven and at points on the Connecticut River. These were all outposts of Congregationalism, but Boston was its center.

The Puritans had not colonized New England with any intention of establishing an asylum for all persons who wished to practice

religion as they pleased. They wished for freedom for themselves to establish the kind of a church which had been unlawful at home. They were quick to take precautionary measures against the admission of any fanatical sects such as were springing up in England under the impulse of Bible study and individual interpretation. In 1631 the Massachusetts franchise was restricted to members of Congregational Churches. In 1650 a colonial law was passed requiring the specific consent of the Government to the introduction of any other than the adopted faith. Four years later one of the Puritans wrote: "All who intend to translate themselves hither may know this is no place of licentious liberty, nor will this people suffer any to trample down this vineyard of the Lord." The problem of survival necessitated peace and harmony if the colony was to remain unmolested by the English Government, and the settlers had received so generous a charter of liberties as a community that they wished to avoid the notice of the mother country. The colonial authorities were therefore sensitive to any disturbing elements. Roger Williams, a minister, was banished because he declared that the colonists had no right to their lands and that the union of Church and State was unjustifiable. Ann Hutchinson was sent away because she was critical of one of the ministers, which was *lèse majesté* in Boston. The people were all taxed for the support of religion, and were required to observe Sunday as a day of rest and to attend church worship. At New Haven the Bible was adopted as the law book of the colony.

NEW ENGLAND CONGREGATIONALISM DEFINES ITSELF

The independent way in which the colonists had organized religion was disturbing to the Puritans in England who continued in the Anglican Church and who distrusted the principle of separatism. They wrote inquiries to which the settlers made reply through the Boston minister, John Cotton. Presently the Massachusetts Government recommended that delegates of the churches meet in synod at Cambridge to decide whether their method of organization should be Brownist or Barrowist, with the Cambridge Platform as a result. The decision was in favor of pure Congregationalism. In Connecticut the trend was toward a semi-Presbyterian form of consociation, by which the churches were held together in each county, troublesome cases of discipline were adjudicated, and ministerial changes advised. The Bay Colony faced a third problem besides the questions of survival and polity. That was the problem of church mem-

bership. With membership, and so the privilege of the colonial franchise, limited to those who were especially qualified by faith and character, relatively few of the second generation applied for church membership. They were not so keenly interested in religion as their parents had been. They were more concerned with their material fortunes. They were acquiring outlying lands and developing their property. There was danger that the churches would dwindle, and there was pressure from residents who wanted the franchise to open wider the door of the church. It became necessary to compromise, and against a good deal of opposition a Halfway Covenant was passed, admitting to baptism the children of those who were not full-fledged church members and so not entitled to present their children. As time passed the requirements were still further broadened.

About the time of the adoption of the Halfway Covenant the English Government compelled the colonial Government to be more hospitable to persons who did not conform to colonial Congregationalism, and twenty years later the original charter of the colony was taken away and a substitute provided in 1691 which restricted self-government. By that time Baptist and Episcopal churches had been founded in Boston.

THE BAPTISTS

In 1638 a few persons who had been members of a Congregational Church near London organized as a Baptist Church with the same principle as the church started by John Smyth at Amsterdam, except that they were Calvinistic in doctrine. The next year Roger Williams, who had been expelled from Massachusetts and had made a settlement at Providence on Narragansett Bay, organized a Baptist Church in his colony. Holding to the Congregational principle of spiritual qualification for church membership, but insisting on the same qualifications for baptism, they rejected infant baptism. Like the Anabaptists they carried the principle of personal religion to the point where they demanded religious liberty and the separation of Church and State. The mode of baptism was not an issue at first, but within a few years immersion was the universal custom. In polity the Baptists were congregational, but they organized associations of churches and even a general assembly among some of them in England, though these had little or no authority over the local churches. They depended on the Bible rather than on church creeds

for their standards of doctrine, but to explain and clarify their beliefs they issued confessions of faith. Both the General, or Arminian, Baptists, and the Particular, or Calvinistic, Baptists increased in numbers and by the time of the Commonwealth they were prominent in the Army and in politics. Some of them were Fifth Monarchy Men, expecting the speedy advent of Christ. More typical was John Bunyan, unlettered but earnest preacher, willing to suffer rather than sacrifice any of his rights.

In America Baptists found a welcome in Rhode Island. Roger Williams did not long remain with them, becoming a Seeker like John Smyth. At Newport and elsewhere several varieties of Baptists organized churches. Their individualism led them to insistence on certain principles that seemed specially important. Seventh Day Baptists observed Saturday instead of Sunday, Six Principle Baptists considered laying of hands on the head of the candidate as important as the act of baptism. Some were Arminian in doctrine, others Calvinistic. In Massachusetts they were all regarded unfavorably. Henry Dunster, the president of Harvard College, was deprived of his position because he would not have his child baptized. The first meetinghouse erected by the Baptists in Boston was closed for a time. But slowly they won a footing, and by the time of the American Revolution they had become a recognized sect and were championing religious liberty and equality in Massachusetts and Virginia. In 1707 American Baptists in Philadelphia and vicinity organized their first association of churches, and other groups of Baptist churches followed their example. They were active in evangelism wherever they were located, and through the Philadelphia Association the South was indoctrinated with Baptist ideas, though the Southern colonies were officially Anglican in religion.

THE FRIENDS, OR QUAKERS

Not a few Baptists in England were attracted to George Fox when he became a traveling preacher about 1650. In a time when the level of religion was lowered by its political connections Fox championed an inner illumination of spirit, as Denck, Franck, and Schwenkfeld had done on the Continent a century earlier. This was in contrast to the Congregationalists who stressed regenerate church membership and democracy and the Baptists who emphasized personal responsibility to God and the baptism of believers only. Fox though an uneducated man believed that he had a message to

give to the public. He preached the possibility of direct enlightenment through the influence of the Holy Spirit on the heart and a warmth of experience of the love of God. In the face of war and hate he pleaded for peace and goodwill, and in the midst of an uncompromising Calvinism he proclaimed that God was striving to reconcile everyone to Himself. He gave the Bible less prominence than did most of the Dissenters, and he saw no need of sacraments or ordinances or of ordained ministers. As in the Apostolic Church, the Spirit inspires individuals in the silent congregation to speak, and it was enough for the company to register its approval of them.

The common people welcomed this unconventional kind of religion. Within ten years sixty preachers were imitating Fox. Few men of standing joined them, but William Penn, an admiral's son, was able to plant a Quaker colony in America in 1681, and Quakers carried their propaganda through the colonies. In parts of the South they were the most popular of the religious sects. Their idiosyncrasies annoyed the Puritans of Boston so much that several persons were hung after a sentence of banishment had failed to dispose of them, but the Quakers became less offensive in their protest against the other forms of religion, and in the Middle colonies they became one of the most respectable and prosperous elements in society. They were champions of the oppressed and helpers in philanthropy and social reform.

RELIGION IN THE MIDDLE COLONIES OF AMERICA

Penn's policy as proprietor of Pennsylvania was generous toward Protestant sectaries. He invited oppressed groups from the Continent to settle on colonial lands, and many responded. Mennonites from Holland settled at Germantown near Philadelphia, and later on German Baptists known as Dunkards found homes in the vicinity. Welsh Quakers and Baptists were among the early immigrants. By 1725 the Scotch-Irish were arriving, the vanguard of a wave of immigration which poured into the interior counties and streamed down the fertile valleys of the Appalachian Mountain region. Following the early comers began a second movement of German Calvinists, chiefly from the Palatinate. Lutherans came and were organized by Henry M. Muhlenberg, who laid the foundations of Lutheran development in America. Moravians from Germany constituted a conservative body of industrious agriculturists and craftsmen, specially interested in the missionary task. Some of these sects maintained

tenaciously their peculiar customs and perpetuated a polyglot religion among the Pennsylvania hills, but they were a valuable addition to the citizenry of America. New Jersey was for a time under Quaker proprietorship, but Puritans and others made settlements within its limits. As a Dutch colony New Netherlands adhered to the Reformed faith and was affiliated with the Presbyterian classes of Amsterdam, but when the English took possession and made it New York, the Anglican Church became the authoritative organization. There was a less tolerant attitude than in Pennsylvania, but the Reformed churches remained vigorous and other groups gained footing. Maryland originated as a proprietary colony and Lord Baltimore aimed to make it a refuge for English Catholics, but it was necessary to tolerate Protestants, and it was not long before Puritans from Virginia seized the reins of government for a time. During most of its colonial history it shared the reputation of tolerance with Pennsylvania and Rhode Island. The small New England colony started by Roger Williams had in consequence a rather turbulent history, but maintained its principles of liberty with consistency except for the exclusion of Catholics for a time.

THE COLONIAL SOUTH

Unlike New England Puritans who clustered in villages where they built their colonial meetinghouses, the people of the Southern colonies were scattered in the open country, except for a few coast towns like Charleston. Social institutions were therefore harder to develop and organized religion suffered in consequence. Few of the people were religious refugees. Members generally of the Church of England, they attended a crossroads church when convenient, but such churches were few and neither clergy nor people were enthusiastic about religion. Parsons were not required to be spiritually minded, and like their English contemporaries they were fonder of riding to hounds after foxes than of studying a sermon. Care was taken in Massachusetts to provide education at Harvard for theological students, but Virginia felt no such responsibility. It was on account of this laxity that Quaker and Baptist evangelists were welcomed by the country folk, though their popular meetings sometimes were interrupted by rowdies or the preachers arrested for propagating unconformity. Governor Berkeley, who ruled during the reign of Charles II, was harsh toward Dissenters and vigorously encouraged the extension of parish churches.

Settlement in the Carolinas was slower than in Virginia and Maryland, and the quality of the Episcopal clergy was superior. They taught school as well as preached and took an interest in the negro slaves, but half of the people preferred a nonepiscopal religion. Quakers, Baptists, Presbyterians and Moravians found hospitality, and Methodists prospered at a later time. French Huguenots were among the aliens who found asylum in South Carolina, and a few Dutch Calvinists went south from New York. Scotch-Irish Presbyterians landed at Charleston and pushed into the interior. Georgia was founded for delinquent debtors and English ne'er-do-weels. The most useful element in the colony was Moravian, but officially the Church of England was in control. Taverns were closed on Sunday and people were required to attend church.

THE EPISCOPALIANS

In the South Episcopacy prevailed along with the administration of royal governors. The Bishop of London included the colonies in his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but ordinarily the fortunes of the Episcopal churches were neglected. Twice a commissary was sent over to investigate the parishes. One of these, Thomas Bray, collected libraries for the colonial clergy and sought out suitable men to take with him. He was the means of organizing the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge for the extension of education and of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for missionary work among the English colonists. Aside from the self-denying labors of these men Episcopalianism in America languished. The function of the Episcopal churches was to provide opportunity for orderly worship and to administer the sacrament. No need was felt of frequent meetings to hold up evangelical standards or agonize over sinful conduct. Religion was accessory to life, not an essential part of it.

TOLERATION AND LIBERTY IN RELIGION

King Charles II was fond of self-indulgence, and since he had no deep religious convictions it suited him to be indulgent in religious matters. By 1672 he was ready to abolish the Clarendon Code and to grant indulgence to Dissenters. The word "indulgence" implied permission to do something that in itself was wrong but that would not be punished. The word "toleration" had a similar sinister sound. It implied a grudging attitude and a power to grant

or to withhold. It did not acknowledge a rightful claim, but only admitted a difference which would be overlooked. The idea of religious liberty to think and feel and do according to the dictates of the individual conscience was in harmony with the Renaissance conception of the worth of man, and of the person as of more value than the state. But the Anabaptists and Quakers alone among the reformers believed that man's relation to God was so personal that no civil authority had any right to interfere. They would separate Church and State and recognize freedom of opinion as a right. Baptists in colonial America did not ask for toleration from Congregational Massachusetts or Episcopal Virginia. They claimed the right of freedom in religion.

Progress toward the ideal of the liberal was slow. Toleration came first in England with the change of government. The Revolution of 1688 which drove James II from the throne was accompanied by two constructive measures of legislation. One was the Bill of Rights, the other the Toleration Act, both passed by Parliament in 1689. By the former the king was forbidden to make use of dispensations, to usurp the functions of the courts, to levy taxes, or to keep an army of his own. The rights of the English people to make petition were assured, and Parliament was to be summoned frequently. Henceforth there were to be no more Catholic sovereigns in England. Along with the civil rights were granted the religious rights. The Bill of Rights marked out limits to the political privileges of the king; the Toleration Act put bounds to the authority of the Church. Congregationalists and Presbyterians, Baptists and Quakers, were granted the right to their own independent worship. Only Catholics and Unitarians were excluded. Episcopacy was recognized as the national church order, and the Church of England was assured of its possessions and organization. One group in the Church was dissatisfied with the simple oath of allegiance instead of the old royal supremacy, because the divine right of the sovereign was no longer recognized and the Stuarts had been treated shabbily. They refused to take the new oath and from that fact were spoken of as Non-Jurors. An edict which confined the Church of England to Episcopalians was not satisfactory to a few, who wished that the national church might include all Protestants. This principle of "comprehension" was championed by Richard Baxter, and it has reappeared subsequently, but never has been acceptable to the large majority of Englishmen. Coincident with the issue of the Toleration

Act was John Locke's *Letter on Toleration*, which supplied a philosophy for the national policy.

In America an irritating policy of interference continued in both Massachusetts and Virginia. Dissenting Christians were taxed for the support of the Established Church, with occasional exemptions. Attempts of the Baptists to secure special privileges at the time of the renunciation of the English political allegiance were unsuccessful. It was not until 1833 that legislation was secured in Massachusetts which gave to all churches the same legal recognition. The growth of different sects and the progress of democracy contributed to the sustained efforts of the Dissenters. In Virginia the laws of conformity were retained in spite of the Edict of Toleration, though regular Baptists were permitted to have a license to minister in a given locality. The Revolutionary agitation encouraged further demands, and they were supported by such freethinkers as Jefferson and Madison. At the close of the war the Episcopalians were compelled to surrender their glebe lands, and a law recognizing the principle of religious liberty was passed by the legislature in 1785. Religious liberty could not long delay anywhere in America after the emancipation of the colonies. The new constitution of the United States included in the first clause of the Bill of Rights the provision that Congress should "make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Long before that time a Congregationalist in England wrote: "I apprehend that no man or body of men whatever has any power to impose any articles of faith or modes of worship upon others, or control the liberty of private judgment." But it was not until the nineteenth century that England removed disabilities from Unitarians, Catholics and Jews.

On the Continent of Europe the general principle followed up to the French Revolution was that every nation should decide whether it would tolerate differences of opinion in religion. Not many cases of actual persecution occurred, but governments did not give Catholics and Protestants equal privileges. Since the French Revolution the principle has spread that different sects may exist side by side, and that men of all faiths shall enjoy political and civil equality. Catholic countries permitted Protestant services of worship, but often strong feeling was shown locally against Protestants. Separation of Church and State did not always follow the winning of religious liberty, but the tendency has been in that direction. Christian churches and states have passed through the stages of general intolerance of diversity,

through indulgence and definite toleration to a generally accepted policy of religious freedom.

By the way of independency ran the road to freedom.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF INDEPENDENCY

The significance of independency has not been appreciated by all students of history. Its real meaning was that religion became democratic. The people themselves ventured to organize their own churches instead of accepting the existing organization, to manage their own churches instead of yielding to the administrative authority of an absentee bishop, and even to choose their own clergy and ordain them. They broke the long line of historical succession, broke down the barrier between laity and clergy, and by abandoning the doctrine of the Church as essential to salvation broke the very matrix in which the pattern of Christianity was preserved. But they did it to save the spiritual essence of Christianity, as they believed. And from them came the evangelicalism of the last two centuries, the notable expansion of Christendom into the far regions of the earth, and the self-government and democracy of great denominations. They lost the sense of importance of the ancient order, the values conserved in the established churches and in the priestly hierarchy, but they found others more consonant with modern freedom and more satisfying to their restless spirits.

COROLLARIES OF LIBERTY

Denominationalism was a natural product of independent thinking. With the exception of a few extreme individualists most people grouped themselves according to their particular beliefs or their liking for a special kind of organization or ritual. All the Protestant denominations agreed in basing their particular tenets on the Bible, but they differed in their interpretation of Scripture. Congregationalists in New England and Episcopalians in the South enjoyed a social prestige because of their state connection, while Baptists and Quakers were regarded as dangerous radicals. The Presbyterians of the back counties were rough and ready frontiersmen, very different from the well-to-do aristocrats who sat primly in the Episcopal churches of the tidewater regions. Religion on the frontier was sometimes indecorous and tended to be emotional.

Another tendency was toward democracy. The colonial governments in America were only partly democratic, and citizenship was

restricted by personal and property qualifications. But the American people were being educated for democracy. Freedom was in the air of the American hills and valleys. It was the goal of much of American settlement. The self-reliance and initiative developed by American life made people impatient of overhead control in either State or Church. Congregationalism with its emphasis on popular rights in every local church fell in with the town governments of pure democracy. Presbyterianism with its delegates to presbytery and synod fitted well with the federal administration when it came. The American churches whose genius was most like that of the American political government, and whose message was both evangelical and evangelistically preached, were the most popular. Whatever the form of church government, control tended to pass to the people in denominational gatherings.

The relegation of religion to private direction left it to voluntary support. An established church like that of Virginia could maintain itself by tithes, and the Congregationalists of New England raised and appropriated money for the parish as for the town at the same local meetings. But before the colonial period was over it became plain that the voluntary principle was of the genius of American religion. From the beginning the unprivileged denominational groups had to depend on them for existence and expansion. Propaganda and education cost money, though expenses in those days were small. Americans rose courageously to the task, and after the colonial period was over few denominational privileges remained.

These principles were very different from the Old World principles of authority and unity and the identification of religion with citizenship in the state. They were a long way from the medieval principle of ecclesiastical solidarity. But history has proved that they are practical for huge aggregations of Christians, as for the first Christians in the ancient Church. Voluntary support of denominational enterprises, like education and foreign missions, has accomplished some of the greatest achievements of church history. Voluntary admission to church membership has stimulated a sense of personal responsibility in religion, and has called out evangelistic effort.

Since these principles were in harmony with the individualism that was characteristic of the age and especially of the American people, they thrived in the New World, but the divergent tendencies were so strong that groups broke off from the large denominations because of minor differences and small sects grew like weeds. This

disintegrating tendency was far stronger than the attempts of the early nineteenth century to gain unity on the simple basis of discipleship of Christ. At that time several groups believed that it might be possible to bring about an undenominational unity by accepting the Bible as a simple model of faith and organization. Alexander Campbell, a Scotch emigrant to Pennsylvania, was the most prominent champion of that idea. But the principle was not strong enough to break down American denominationalism and the Campbellites became another denomination, taking the name of Disciples of Christ. Because they were called Christians as well as Disciples, they were confused easily with a smaller group, the Christian Connection. Many people in America admired the solidarity of great national churches like the Church of England, and the Catholic Church in America was able to appeal to some Protestants successfully. But most Americans preferred the free churches. It remained a question in the nineteenth century whether the free churches could be efficient churches.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. What was the attitude of the Protestants toward religious authority?
2. Are Puritanism and independency the same thing in English history? Show from the history of each.
3. What is the importance of Robert Browne in the history of independency? Compare him with John Smyth.
4. How should one classify the Puritans, the Pilgrims, and the Baptists in New England? Were they all Independents or not? What was their attitude toward the relation of Church and State?
5. Why has Roger Williams been noted in religious history? Outline his career.
6. Compare the beginnings of the English and the American Baptists. On what grounds were they opposed to infant baptism?
7. Give a history of Quaker beginnings in America. What have been their principal contributions to religion and society?
8. Compare the religion of the colonial South with that of New England.
9. Explain the process of the winning of religious liberty in England and the colonies.
10. What were the consequences of religious freedom in America?

For class discussion or debate

1. The relative values of a state church and the voluntary principle.
2. How far did the Pilgrims contribute to the Puritan influence on America?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. George Fox.
2. Thomas Bray.
3. Comprehension as an English church policy.
4. John Smyth, Se-Baptist.

For longer written essays

1. Beginnings of religious toleration in the sixteenth century.
2. The Brownists in England and Holland.
3. Beginnings of Scotch-Irish settlement in interior America.
4. The first ten years of church history in Puritan Boston in New England.
5. American Baptists in the vicinity of Philadelphia.

For conference and examination

1. The progress of religious liberty between 1100 and 1800.

For maps and tables

1. A map to show the religious complexion of the American colonies.
2. A list of the denominations in America with more than fifty thousand members.

READING REFERENCES

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 HANBURY. Memorials
 LOCKE. Letter on Toleration
 WILLIAMS. Bloody Tenent of Persecution
 MATHER. Magnalia

Secondary Guides

CLARK. History of English Nonconformity
 BURRAGE. The Early English Dissenters
 SHAKESPEARE. Congregational and Baptist Pioneers
 BROWN. Pilgrim Fathers of New England
 BURGESS. John Smyth
 STRAUS. Roger Williams
 JONES, R. Spiritual Reformers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries
 BACON. Genesis of the New England Churches
 BACON. History of American Christianity
 BECKER. Beginnings of the American People
 ROWE. History of Religion in the United States
 WALKER. History of the Congregationalists in the United States
 — Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism

NEWMAN. History of the Baptists in the United States

BRAITHWAITE. History of the Quakers

COBB. Religious Liberty

SCHAFF. Religious Liberty

HANNA. The Scotch-Irish

DEXTER. Congregationalism

CHAPTER XXII

REASON AND EMOTION IN RELIGION

GROWING INDIFFERENCE TO RELIGION

FREEDOM in religion may result in a burst of activity, or it may run off into indifference. To be denied a privilege creates a thirst for it, but abundance of opportunity tends to make it unappreciated. The course of religious history in England after the Edict of Toleration showed that the militancy of Puritanism had passed, and that the rank and file of Englishmen were indifferent to any kind of religion. There were earnest men and women in the Church of England who were scrupulous in meeting their religious obligations, some of whom habitually confessed their faults to the clergy. There were clergymen like Jeremy Taylor and Bishop Ken who were devout leaders of the devout and authors of literary aids to religion. Groups of young people organized religious societies for the cultivation of the religious life and for social service. In 1710 it was estimated that there were more than forty such groups in London and Westminster. But parish churches were allowed to fall out of repair, little care was given to vestments and orderliness in worship, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was celebrated infrequently. Many of the clergy were slipshod in their theological thinking and had little interest in the historical succession of their functions. While High Churchmen were particular about these things, the Latitudinarians troubled themselves little as long as they had comfortable livings, and deplored enthusiasm in religion or any activity which might disturb the peace which was so welcome after the long period of controversy. They allied themselves with the Whig party and the existing régime in politics, and disliked both the Tories and the High Church party.

Puritans who had withdrawn from the Church of England were similarly inclined to indifference. Their numbers declined and their

energies waned. Many of them were willing to conform to Anglicanism by communing occasionally for the sake of thus becoming qualified to hold political office, but the practice was frowned upon by loyal churchmen. Presbyterians grew so unsound theologically that they drifted generally into Unitarianism. The General Baptists took much the same course, until Dan Taylor saved a few from the wreck and organized the New Connection of General Baptists in 1773.

TENDENCY TO RATIONALISM

Increasing freedom of thought was producing a skepticism of the characteristic elements in Christianity both inside and outside of the churches. Most of the political leaders were distinctly irreligious. Latitudinarians among the clergy were content to argue for a belief in God and immortality and the reasonableness of virtue without attempting to vindicate Christianity as a revealed religion. This disposition appeared even before the Puritan upheaval, but it became marked in the last part of the seventeenth century.

It was a time of new philosophies. The intellectual man tries to reason out a world-view of things that will hold together logically and according to actuality. He tries to see life whole and in the light of all time. Such a world-view is his philosophy. Its instrument is reason rather than faith. Medieval Schoolmen had tried to prove their faith by their reason but had failed and had fallen back on their traditional beliefs. The humanists of the Renaissance put a new valuation on the intellectual power of man, and many of them discarded tradition altogether. But they did not bring religion to the bar of reason. By the seventeenth century some men were wondering if it might not be enough to use their reason without their faith, to be content with the self-evident truths of natural religion rather than to strive after the ideas and ideals of revelation. This attitude was the legitimate consequence of the humanistic emphasis of the Renaissance. The reformers had not attempted to rationalize about religion. In much they were willing to rely on the judgment of the ancient Church. For the rest they depended on their faith to justify them in the sight of God and to give them future rewards for right conduct. The intellectual significance of the Reformation was not its complete emancipation of thought about religion, but it was in the disruption of the closed system of a unified belief and organization, and the admission of the right of the individual to use his intelligence, at least partially.

Among those who were affected by the spirit of humanism during the Reformation period was Faustus Socinus, an Italian who made a home in Poland, and became the leader of a group of liberal thinkers known from him as Socinians. As humanists they emphasized man's ability to win salvation without supernatural aid. They did not share the traditional Protestant opinion of human depravity and helplessness, nor did they recognize the need of an atonement. They did not think of Christ as divine. They still kept a belief in the authority of the Bible, at least of the teaching of Jesus, but they made reason a test of revelation. The Socinians were persecuted but some of them found refuge in Holland where they were known as Polish Brethren, and their opinions spread into Transylvania where they produced a Continental form of Unitarianism and published their Racovian Catechism.

Arminianism had gone from Holland to England, where its advocates agreed with the Socinians that man had much to do with his own salvation. Arianism, a reminder of Nicene days in the ancient Church, was held as a theology by several leaders in the Anglican Church. They taught that Christ was a teacher of moral truth rather than a Savior from sin, but few questioned his eternal sonship. Religion was to be affected even more by the modern developments of science and philosophy.

RISE OF MODERN SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY

The scientific lore of the ancient Greeks came to western Europe in the writings of Aristotle and in the mathematics which came from the Alexandrians. The ideas of Aristotle coming into Christendom through the Mohammedans of Spain and Sicily gained the first response from the Western mind, and they were worked into the scholastic synthesis of the thirteenth century. Only a few persons were interested in physics and mathematics, but Robert Grossteste made them popular at Oxford, and Roger Bacon taught the importance of testing conclusions derived from mathematics by practical experimentation. In the fourteenth century the new ideas of science crowded out the scholastic conclusions of the Thomists even at Paris and kept control until humanism won the leadership. Experiment was the basis of scientific discipline, and discoveries in physics and astronomy advanced science by the middle of the century to a point where it remained for two and a half centuries longer.

The Renaissance drew attention to the literature of the past and

pushed science into seclusion, but the growth of commerce created a demand for architects, engineers, and others who could work with mathematical exactness, and applied science advanced parallel with the development of such magical quackeries as astrology and alchemy. In the sixteenth century Padua in Italy was the center of scientific interest and there the discoverers of mathematical astronomy received their stimulus. They worked on the principle that nature observes a mathematical order, and on the basis of geometrical axioms and a few observations they made their hypotheses and deduced their conclusions. Copernicus demonstrated that the heavens knew only one law, that of mathematics, and that the sun and not the earth was the center of the planetary system. At one stroke he revolutionized the hoary system on which medieval science rested. He dared not publish his conclusions at first, and when at length they became known it was perceived how disturbing they were and the wrath of the ecclesiastical authorities was aroused. Galileo suffered from this opposition when he announced his discoveries in astronomy and physics after his newly invented telescope had enlarged his range of vision. Science was laying the foundations of its claim that the universe could be explained mechanically. Isaac Newton in England strengthened the mechanical theory by formulating a law of gravitation which remained undisturbed until Einstein recently propounded his revolutionary theories of mathematics and physics. Still more important for the mathematical demonstration of natural law was Newton's discovery of the calculus.

Philosophy too made its contribution to the prevailing scientific theory of mathematical demonstration. René Descartes (1596-1650), an unbelieving French Catholic, denied the authority of ecclesiastical tradition, stripped himself of all preconceived opinions, and took as his starting point the simple fact that he knew how to think. Then in the process of thought, he explained, certain primary truths emerge which are as self-evident as the axioms of geometry. These he called innate ideas. They need no proof, but evidence themselves. The self, or soul, God, and matter, seemed to him thus self-evident. On these ideas he constructed his philosophy by deductive reasoning.

Already interest in scientific investigation was spreading and philosophers were ready to argue for an inductive rather than a deductive method of reasoning. Francis Bacon won a lasting reputation by championing that principle, and those who followed his method got results. The microscope and the air pump were invented to facili-

tate investigation. A national observatory was established at Greenwich in England, which kept the timepiece of the civilized world in its custody and stimulated an interest in astronomy. The Royal Society was organized in 1662 to encourage scientific study. Not only men of scholarly tastes, but even the disreputable rakes and dandies of society took time off from their escapades to dabble in the chemical laboratory. Medicine was being improved, and the modern sciences of biology and mineralogy were being outlined.

The new science with its reliance upon natural law was contrary to prevailing ideas in religion. To hold with Calvin that God determined events by His arbitrary will when nature was making it plain that the world was under law, seemed to many irrational. To accept the dogmas of an uncritical age, which declared the Bible to be inspired verbally and to constitute the sole test of truth, was becoming difficult for those who saw in nature and in nature alone evidences of God and immortality.

THE DEISTIC CONTROVERSY

With philosophy and science both stressing man's power to think for himself and to discover truth by his reason, it was easy to think of God as expressed in nature rather than in revelation, builder of the machine but with no active interest in man. Deism had a pioneer in Baron Herbert of Cherbury, a contemporary of Descartes, who in 1624 published a book entitled, *On the Truth of the Christian Religion*. It was not a radical utterance. It was noteworthy for what it omitted rather than for any aggressive heresy. Lord Herbert was interested in the study of comparative religion, and in that study the tenets that were held by men in common interested him most. God, the moral obligation of man, and future reward or punishment according to conduct, were to him the doctrines of a religion natural to the human race. Such a religion needed no revelation, no Savior, no priests, no creeds. Lord Herbert wrote judiciously as a scholar, without the bite and the venom of a Voltaire, and for a time deism fell into the background as the Puritan controversy came on.

It was not until the close of the century that deistic thought found expression again. There were two attitudes among the deists. The Christian Platonists coupled a devout mysticism with their advocacy of reason, but they had less influence then than now. Most rationalists were coldly logical, distrusting religious experience, and finding no value in revealed religion except as a sanction to morality. Then

John Toland wrote anonymously *Christianity Not Mysteriorious*, in which he raised numerous issues, in particular declaring that Christianity was nothing more than a revamped Judaism. He brought nature and Christianity alike to the bar of reason and made that the only sure test of faith. The excitement which Toland aroused was intensified by Anthony Collins, whose *Discourse of Freethinking* fastened the name of Freethinkers upon the deists, and by Mathew Tindal who insisted in his *Christianity as Old as Creation* that only those elements in Christianity which accord with that natural religion which consists in honoring God and serving men are true. Tindal was the arch-heretic of the quartette of disturbers of the ecclesiastical peace.

Meantime certain English philosophers were contributing to the strength of rationalism. John Locke (1632-1704) was a thinker who denied the innate ideas of Descartes. He considered the mind to be a blank tablet, susceptible to the impressions received through the senses and able to reflect on these impressions. By that means a man might reach reliable judgments about God. Locke was a Christian, and he did not permit his denial of any sure foundations in the mind to undermine his faith. Quite inconsistently he held faith to be superior to reason. Locke's belief that it was possible to carry the mathematical idea into human concerns and so to discover natural rights and natural laws aided the argument of the deists for a natural religion, and Descartes' idea that every judgment should be suspended until it could be proved with mathematical exactness. Locke's philosophy logically made reason the basis of all certainty, and others more thoroughgoing than he landed in skepticism about the possibility of attaining to sound knowledge. Such a man was David Hume (1711-1776), who was a literary historian as well as a philosopher. He distrusted all ideas that were not derived from sense phenomena. He was not an atheist, for he believed that the order of nature was evidence of an overruling mind, wise as well as powerful. No one form of religion seemed to him satisfactory; the miracles of Christianity he rejected and he reacted against all mystery. He carried Locke's philosophical queries to their ultimate conclusion in agnosticism. After Hume philosophers inclined to discard *a priori* theories and depend on experience as the source of knowledge. Hume's appeal to experience led him to history in order to discover what human experience had been. Similarly Edward Gibbon, who has been classed with Hume as an infidel, dug deep into the sources

and produced his classic history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. The capacity of human nature to formulate ideas through unaided reason was so acceptable an idea that it spread to France and Germany. In Germany G. W. Leibnitz (1646-1715) accepted Descartes' doctrine of innate ideas and taught that knowledge comes through the unfolding of those ideas. To him the universe was full of an infinite number of spiritual forces which he called monads in which ideas inhere. All work in harmony, and this world is the best of all possible worlds. This doctrine of pluralism was the opposite of the monism of Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), a Jew, who made God synonymous with nature and everything else but a mode of expression of the one substance.

The appeal to nature was popular because it simplified religion, but it did not take long for the opponents of deism to find fault with natural religion. The problem of evil and the mystery of divine Providence were not explained. The doctrine of the subordination of the individual to the general good resulted in the loss of the sense of God as a personal friend, prayer became an empty form, and personal immortality seemed doubtful. The deists lacked constructive ideas to take the place of the doctrines which they criticized. Defenders of orthodox Christianity came forward, like the Apologists of the early centuries, and showed that the New Testament story was intelligible and trustworthy, that God was the author of both nature and Bible, and that miracles are evidences of the presence of Deity. The principal apologists were Joseph Butler (1692-1752) and William Paley (c. 1740-1805). In his *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature*, Butler assumed the existence of God and acknowledged the limitations of human knowledge, but argued that it was no more difficult to believe in a God of revelation than of nature because He worked in a similar way in the natural and spiritual worlds. In the absence of proof he was content to rely on probability and to act as if a thing were true until experience proved it otherwise. Paley's *Evidences of Christianity* became the textbook on that subject for many years, and his well-known argument for God from evidences of design in nature, as a watch is proof of a watchmaker, became the stock argument of the defenders of the Christian faith.

For the most part blasts and counter-blasts fell harmlessly upon the coats of mail in which the minds of the debaters were clad, and their battles have ceased long since to reverberate.

THE EVANGELICAL REACTION

Contemporary with English deism were three movements which may be defined as evangelical. Rationalism and evangelicalism represented two contrasting types of religious thought and action, the one stressing the intellectual in religion, the other emotional, the one emphasizing natural religion and minimizing Christ and his revelation, the other magnifying the place of Christ as a Savior from sin. In England the evangelical movement of Methodism followed deism, arousing people to a need of a power greater than themselves to lift them out of the lower levels where they found it easier to live, and pointing to the crucified Christ as that divine power. In Germany the evangelical spirit appeared in the Pietists, who reacted from the inertness and dogmatism of current Lutheranism, but failed to produce a permanent revival. The Moravian Brethren perpetuated their devotion. In America the Great Awakening was contemporary with the rise of English Methodism and had the same evangelical emphasis. In point of time the Pietists came first.

THE PIETISTS

Theological controversy in Germany had as its consequences an insistence on dogma, a popular indifference to religion, a neglect of instruction of the young people in the fundamentals of religion, and a low level of character and ideals among the clergy. The Thirty Years' War had demoralized the people as well as left the country barren and desolate. A few individuals kept alive the mystical spirit of Tauler and Eckhart. Jacob Boehmer, though an unlearned shoemaker, had spiritual insight and wrote out his visions with a rush of emotion and a poetical fancy seldom surpassed. John Arndt with his *True Christianity* made a profound impression upon thoughtful minds, even among Catholics, and turned them from fruitless theological disputations. John Gerhard wrote exegetically in a similar attempt to harmonize the warring theologians, and was greatly respected for his learning and loved for his piety.

Philip Spener (1635-1705) at Frankfort saw the evil conditions of his times, turned to the Bible to guide him in the work of instructing the children, took young men into his parsonage to prepare them practically for the ministry, and showed them how to deal with the unenlightened popular mind. In the church of which he was pastor he tried to make his sermons intelligible to the uneducated,

but he realized that he was not very successful and therefore invited his people to come together on a week-day evening, when he reviewed the Sunday lesson and explained any difficult points. Later at Dresden and Berlin he used similar methods and encouraged more lay participation in church activities. His book, *Pious Desires*, aroused opposition, but he revived the Lutheran religion. August Francke (1663-1727) succeeded Spener in the leadership of the Pietists. His chief work was done at Halle, where he was pastor and university teacher. The University of Halle became the center of the influence of Pietism. Francke lectured on the Bible, and revolutionized theological teaching elsewhere as well. He undertook the instruction of poor children in his home, and was soon compelled on account of numbers to establish an orphanage. The Oriental Theological College for the study of the languages of the Bible, which was affiliated with the University of Halle, gave the first impulse to Protestant missions in the East. A university mission to Jews and Mohammedans was started, and when the King of Denmark wanted missionaries for southern India he found them at Halle. Christian Schwartz and several others planted Christianity in that country a hundred years before English Baptists sent Carey to Calcutta.

Pietism was a revival of the initial enthusiasm of the Reformation. It prompted personal piety by quickening the spiritual life. It did not create a new ecclesiastical organization, but remained as a force inside Lutheranism. It owed most to Spener and Francke, but it was not confined to them alone. Nor was its force spent in Germany, for it made its way into Scandinavia and was welcomed in the cities of Switzerland. But there it proved dynamic in awakening an interest in religion among university students, and among the people of some of the larger cities. Though it based its teaching on the Bible, emphasized the regenerating power of the Spirit of God, and pointed out the necessity of helpful living, it lost ground because of the lack of leaders to follow Francke, and because of a growing wave of skepticism, for rationalism was abroad in Germany.

THE MORAVIAN BRETHERN

Among the pupils of Francke at Halle was the heir to a large estate in Saxony. Impressed with the spirit of the place and deeply influenced by the missionaries whom he met, Count Zinzendorf became the moving spirit of the Moravian Brethren in the early part of the eighteenth century. They were a remnant of the *Unitas*

Fratrum of Hussites who had been persecuted almost out of existence. When the Moravians did not know where to make a home, he welcomed them to his estate and became their friend and leader. Their settlement they called Herrnhut, and there they lived on the simple principle of a common love to Christ. Zinzendorf held them together, preserved the ancient succession of bishops and maintained worship. The life of the people was semimonastic, for they lived in groups, wore a distinctive costume, and were governed as a congregation under the superintendency of Zinzendorf, until in 1737 he was ordained bishop of the Moravian Church.

Zinzendorf had the twofold purpose of spiritualizing the churches of Europe and undertaking to evangelize foreign lands. In pursuit of the first of these he traveled widely in northern Europe, and the brethren spread into a number of different countries. Schools were founded, partly for the education of children and partly for the training of Christian workers. One of their number was Amos Comenius, a noted educator, who anticipated some of the modern discoveries in pedagogy. The Moravians did not try to proselytize among the Protestants of Europe, but the purpose of their Diaspora, or home missions, was to organize classes for Bible study and prayer, and to quicken and enrich the spiritual life of the people. They never were ambitious to become a great church, but in proportion to their numbers they have surpassed all other Protestant bodies in foreign missions. At a time when missionary work was scarcely conceived by other Christian denominations, they were undertaking the most heroic tasks in such difficult countries as Greenland, Lapland, Tartary and the West Indies, though they had small resources and their missionaries were mostly untrained. The time came when they had more than twice as many members on their foreign mission fields as in their home churches.

America proved an asylum for the Moravians, as it did for so many other religious refugees. They found homes in Pennsylvania, where Zinzendorf visited and organized them with churches, schools and industries. Instead of owning lands in severalty they vested the title to farms and factories in the Church, and distributed the profits for the benefit of all. They did not live in common and the economic arrangement was abandoned after twenty years, but the church system of communal government lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century. The Moravians were prompt to send missionaries among the Indians.

THE SWEDENBORGIANS

In the year 1688 Emanuel Swedenborg was born in a Swedish manse. In his early life he was interested in religion, but he devoted long hours of study to scientific problems, until he gained eminence as a scientist. In 1743 he believed that he had special visions of the unseen world, and he wrote them out in order that he might reveal to his skeptical age the divine secrets which transcend the natural sight. He claimed to converse with angels and spirits, to see into heaven and hell, and to perceive the meaning of unexplained mysteries. His principal doctrine was that of correspondences between nature and the spiritual world, and he applied his principle to the allegorical interpretation of Scripture in a way which seemed unwarranted to those who did not agree with him. His own fellow countrymen did not respond with enthusiasm, but in England he won more followers and organized them into the Church of the New Jerusalem. The members of the churches have been known popularly as Swedenborgians. In America the doctrines spread over thirty states, but the largest number of churches was in Massachusetts at the close of the seventeenth century. The principal tenets of the Swedenborgians are the salvation of mankind through Christ, who fought the hosts of evil and won freedom for man; of divine authorship of the Bible; the existence of heaven, hell, and an intermediate state in which harmony is gained in one's nature and spiritual instruction is received; while in heaven is a steadily maturing life beyond the grave.

RELIGIOUS AWAKENING IN THE MIDDLE COLONIES OF AMERICA

The same spiritual blight that settled down on the English and German churches injured religion in America. The voluntary character of religion in the Free churches of England and America necessitated evangelistic preaching, if people were to take upon themselves the responsibility of church membership. For the first one hundred years of American colonial history the Anglican churches of the South and the Puritan churches of New England depended on accessions to the churches by the natural process of children following their parents into church membership. Religion had so prominent a part in American settlement that this seemed a reasonable expectation, but the initial interest of the first settlers passed, religion was no longer so vital an issue as the subjugation of a new continent, and it was much neglected, especially on the fringes of settlement.

In England the Free churches were handicapped by their inferior social standing and by the overwhelming strength of the Anglican Church.

In the early part of the eighteenth century there was dire need in England and America for strenuous evangelism, if the people were to be interested in religion. Preaching was doctrinal and ethical. There were few impassioned appeals to emotion or personal action. The flaccid preaching of the period produced an inertia that boded ill for the future of the churches. Why should people sustain voluntarily a religion of such small value? Evangelism was needed but it was delayed.

Soon after the beginning of the eighteenth century evidences appeared here and there that the winter of indifference was beginning to break. A few ministers were preaching earnestly to their people, men who had experienced a profound consciousness of God and his personal relation to them, and who decried the customary dependence on religious externals. They insisted upon a "work of divine grace" in the heart as the essential factor in religion. Soon their preaching was having an effect. The awakening seems to have come first among some of the Continental sects in Pennsylvania. A second source was the preaching of Theodore Frelinghuysen among the Dutch Reformed people of northern New Jersey. He was a young minister from the Netherlands, who in spite of objections preached unconventionally, introduced the custom of holding prayer meetings and encouraged lay preaching, and influenced other young men to preach like him. He published a number of sermons which made a deep impression on account of the culture of the man and the emotional note in his preaching. He made rigid rules for admission to the church. He held a pastorate over a group of four churches until his death in 1748.

The revival of interest in religion occurred also among the English and Scotch Presbyterians. William Tennent, an Irish Presbyterian and a friend of Frelinghuysen, preached evangelistically and was able to organize the New Brunswick presbytery, which supported the principle of evangelism. Most of the Scotch-Irish who were coming into Pennsylvania were not sympathetic with the new methods, but Puritans moving into New Jersey from New England were more amenable to suggestion. The strongest influence of Tennent was exerted through the Lay College which he started for the training of evangelical ministers. In those days ministers of prominence

were beginning to take into their homes for instruction and clinical practice young men who were candidates for the ministry. Harvard and Yale were too conservative in their attitude toward revivals, and theological seminaries were not yet in existence. Tennent found young men with more zeal than learning and while pastor at Neshaminy in Pennsylvania he built a log building and gave them a college and theological education. Some of his students gained a reputation as scholars without losing their evangelistic fervor. The Log College was not a permanent institution, but out of it came an impetus which resulted in the founding of Princeton College and a number of other educational institutions. The difference of opinion among Presbyterians over the propriety of revival methods resulted in a division of forces for nearly twenty years, when reunion of New Side and Old Side took place.

THE GREAT AWAKENING IN NEW ENGLAND

Early in the century local interest revived at a few points, especially in the Connecticut valley. At Northampton Jonathan Edwards was pastor of the most important church outside of Boston. Mystical in temperament, sensitive to sin wherever he found it, and distrusting the means of grace used by his predecessor, he preached pungently and aroused his people with fear of future punishment for their sins. The result was an emotional upheaval (c. 1735) which brought large accessions of membership to the church. From Northampton the interest spread down the river and along the coast.

The protagonist of sin was an Englishman who had associated with the Wesley brothers at Oxford, and who had tried the unconventional method of preaching an evangelistic message to people out-of-doors. This was George Whitefield. Sailing to America in 1740, he landed at Philadelphia and made preaching tours among the colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia. Thousands were drawn by his eloquence and yielded to his spell. They left their occupations at a moment's notice when they heard of his coming, and crowded the buildings in which he spoke. Thirty thousand were said to have gathered to hear him on Boston Common. In Georgia he built an orphanage, as Francke did at Halle. He made repeated journeys back and forth between England and America, and proved a powerful religious force in both countries. Tens of thousands of persons joined the churches, and many became evangelistic ministers.

The Great Awakening on the whole set in motion currents which affected deeply the future of American Christianity. It revived personal religion, prompted the Protestant missionary enterprise somewhat later, gave an impetus to education, and kindled a new humanitarian spirit. Ministers preached with new vigor. Sacred music proved an aid to preaching. Freedom in worship was promoted and the bars were lowered for a time between Christians of various names. Emphasis was put on personal faith and experience rather than on forms of religion. On the other hand the reaction which followed the emotional disturbance lasted for years of renewed indifference. Whitefield and certain of his successors, like the sons of William Tennent, were harshly critical of those who did not like their methods, and a number of Congregationalists withdrew from their church affiliations and organized New Light churches of those who were sympathetic with revivalism. These remained Separate Congregational churches for some time or became Baptist in a number of instances.

NEW ENGLAND THEOLOGY

Before the deists and the easy-going latitudinarian clergy in the Anglican Church were through weaving their rationalistic web, the Evangelical Revival occurred in England and America. Wesley's movement was not theological except as it brought Arminianism of a warm, evangelical sort into opposition to Calvinism. In America Edwards was a true Calvinist in his belief in a sovereign God and His weak-willed human creatures, but when he summoned men and women to repent of their sin, he was compelled to admit that they had a natural ability to make a choice of action within the circle of their inclinations. A man could put himself in a place where the divine Spirit could do its work in him. Edwards wrote out his theory in his *Freedom of the Will*, a book which gave him a theological reputation abroad surpassing any other American up to that time. In a second book entitled *Original Sin* he tried to refute the liberal contention that man could work out his own salvation and insisted on the ancient doctrine that Adam's fall had incapacitated him. The most effective of the writings of Edwards was his *Nature of True Virtue*, in which he affirmed that sin is selfishness and that virtue is the going out of the whole personality of man in benevolence, or goodwill, to God that He may be glorified.

Jonathan Edwards was the founder of a school of New England theology which dominated the New England churches outside of the Boston area and the schools of religion for more than a century. Edwards impressed himself personally upon Joseph Bellamy, a Yale graduate, and upon Samuel Hopkins, his neighbor for many years in the Berkshire Hills of western Massachusetts. Bellamy broadened Edwards' theory of a limited atonement and Hopkins contributed the *System of Doctrines*, an exposition of Edwardianism, and was considered a second founder of the New England theology. The ideas of these three men developed under the spur of practical need. As pastors they realized how the Old Calvinism had dulled the consciences of the people by the belief in the absolute impossibility of making the least approach to God, and they tried to humanize it without losing the main emphasis on the sovereignty of God. Later Jonathan Edwards the Younger was driven to adopt a modified theory of the atonement because of the rise of the Universalists. Universalism had come to America from England with John Murray, an appealing preacher. Elhanan Winchester, converted from the Baptists of New England, was an equally popular preacher of a doctrine that all persons would be saved because Christ had satisfied the demands of God's justice and that the divine love would win all to him. To counteract the Universalist teaching the Younger Edwards presented a governmental theory of the atonement similar to that of Hugo Grotius, the Dutch Arminian, which vindicated the benevolence of God, but differed from the Universalist self-congratulation by insisting that the atonement of Christ satisfied the "general" rather than the "distributive" justice of God, that is, that Christ satisfied the demands of the moral law but that every man must meet the penalty of his own misdeeds. The theory of the atonement of the junior Edwards became the accepted theory of the Congregational churches of New England, and thence spread to the Presbyterians of America and even to British ministers like Thomas Chalmers the Presbyterian and Andrew Fuller the Baptist.

Slight theological differences between Bellamy and Hopkins were magnified by later writers and two groups diverged. Hopkinsianism was developed by Nathaniel Emmons, for fifty-four years a Massachusetts Congregational minister, and Bellamy was interpreted by Timothy Dwight and Nathaniel Taylor, both of Yale College.

WESLEYANS IN ENGLAND

About the time of the Great Awakening in America two revivals broke out in Great Britain, which profoundly affected the religious and social life of the people. One of these was in Wales where Griffith Jones was preaching in Carmarthenshire. Believing that people must be intelligent if they are to be good Christians, he founded circulating schools in which within twenty-four years more than one hundred thousand children and adults learned to read the Welsh Bible. Other preachers by their downright earnestness and power of persuasion won many converts.

In England there were pious folk among the laity and a few spiritually minded men like William Law among the clergy, but gambling, cock and bear fighting, profanity, degrading theaters, were the weaknesses of the people. Drunkenness prevailed everywhere. Distilling of native drinks was encouraged in order to keep out French brandies, until the amount of distilled spirits rose from a half million gallons in 1684 to eleven millions annually consumed in 1750. Gin shops advertised to make a man drunk for a penny, dead drunk for tuppence. The health as well as the morals of the people deteriorated. Inebriety and private licentiousness accompanied public corruption.

John Wesley was born into this England in 1703. Educated at Oxford, he became scrupulous in religious practices, but without an experience of the love of God in his heart. As leader of a Holy Club of kindred spirits he cultivated his own piety and that of his friends, but gained little satisfaction. On a missionary journey to Georgia he fell in with certain Moravians who created in him a desire for greater joy and peace in religion, and in a London meeting of a religious society he "felt his heart strangely warmed," and from that time his love for Christ burned so strongly that he felt compelled to preach salvation through the love of God in Christ to all who would listen. His burning zeal was unwelcome in most Anglican pulpits, and he had to face the question of his future, though he was an ordained clergyman in the Church of England. Seeking an outlet for his new spiritual energies, Wesley carried his religious message to the Cornish miners of southwest England, preached in the open fields to thousands of them until the tears coursed down their blackened faces, and then set up chapels and schools to conserve the results that he had gained. Wesley was

reluctant to separate from the Church of England in which he had been reared, as Luther found it hard to break with Catholicism. He had a genius for organization and by forming classes of a few persons each, with a leader who could guide the formation of Christian character in each class, he trained lay leaders and lay learners at the same time, but they all remained inside the Church of England and it was decades before Wesley ventured to ordain members of a Methodist clergy.

Wesley established his first center at Bristol in western England and another at Newcastle in the north. In London he bought an old cannon foundry and fitted it up for headquarters. Once established in the metropolis he showed ability in organization which soon made Methodism a recognized religious and social movement. Wesley was interested in prisoners, in the poor for whom he experimented with measures of relief, and in the children for whom he started schools. His doctrine of Arminianism made his gospel one of self-help and divine coöperation, and his brother Charles with his gift of winsome song added to the attraction of John Wesley's preaching. Small wonder was it that Methodism grew. The zeal and new methods of the evangelist created an energy and enthusiasm among his followers, which in turn were powerful for a revival of religion and better morals. Religion never had gripped the working people of England. Puritanism was a movement among the middle classes. Wesley did much to save England from such social convulsions as came later in France. The warmth and vigor and evangelical teaching which characterized the Methodists gave them such a momentum that tens of thousands of persons became connected with the Methodist societies before John Wesley died, and in America they began to grow rapidly from the time Methodism started. Although Wesley had not countenanced separation from the Church of England, to which he was so much attached, he had promptly grouped his converts into religious societies, and when the American interest began to grow he commissioned Asbury and Coke to superintend the enterprise in the colonies.

Methodism was revolutionary in its conception of religious principles and methods. In the Church of England salvation was theoretically a spiritual process to be secured through the worship and sacraments of the Church. The evangelical preaching of Wesley called for a definite repentance of sin, a wrestling with God for

forgiveness, and an experience of peace and assurance of the divine mercy. Feeling and volition were stressed more than intellectual assent and conformity to ecclesiastical custom. Then once persons were aroused and persuaded to take steps necessary to salvation, they must be followed up so as to conserve the experience by new religious methods. Hence came the class organization and lay leadership, the prayer meeting and the love feast. These were new in the experience of Englishmen. Methodism succeeded because of the novelty of its methods which appealed to the common people, and the practical value of its message. Its moral influence on English society was profound, and its gospel became the inspiration of the Evangelicals in the Church of England. Indirectly the Methodists contributed to the missionary and humanitarian enterprises of the nineteenth century. Its more humane Arminian theology created a spiritual warmth which undermined Calvinism in England and America. Its popularity in the New World eventually gave it the first rank numerically in the United States.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. What are the evidences of loss of religious interest in England about 1700?
2. In what respects were the Socinians pioneers of a modern attitude toward religion?
3. In what ways did science become modern between Roger Bacon and Newton?
4. What is the place of Spinoza in the history of philosophy?
5. Could the deists properly be called theists? Christians? Who were their leaders and their chief opponent?
6. What is the significance of German Pietism? What were its limitations?
7. Sketch the history of Moravian missions.
8. Make clear the place of Jonathan Edwards in the history of revivals and of theology in America.
9. Show how Whitefield and Wesley contributed to the evangelical movement in America.
10. In what ways was the Methodist movement an advance upon the Lutheran?

For class discussion or debate

1. Were the emotional extravagances of the revivals an inevitable accompaniment of the preaching appeal to fear?
2. Could a successful Methodism have been kept within the Church of England by a more sympathetic treatment by the Anglicans?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. The Socinians in Poland.
2. The Moravians in Pennsylvania.
3. The Log College.

For longer written essays

1. Galileo's relations to the Catholic Church.
2. Butler's *Analogy of Religion*.
3. The social service of Spener and Francke.
4. The organizing genius of John Wesley.
5. Moral effects of Methodism on eighteenth-century England.

For conference and examination

1. A comparative study of the hymns of Charles Wesley and of Isaac Watts.

For maps and tables

1. A map to illustrate the Great Awakening in America.
2. In parallel columns outline the chief events in the lives of Edwards, Whitefield, and Wesley.
3. A list of countries included in Moravian missionary history.

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 LOCKE. Essay concerning the Human Understanding
 BUTLER. Analogy of Religion
 PALEY. Natural Theology

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HURST. History of Rationalism
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CHAPTER XXIII

ADVANCING THE CHRISTIAN FRONTIER

NEW FACTORS IN AMERICAN RELIGION

BECAUSE of continued intercourse between the colonies and the mother country, religious changes in England were reflected overseas. Methodism entered American life in its vigorous fashion, and made a successful appeal to those persons who liked novelty and were repelled by the doctrines of the Calvinistic churches. Methodist preachers spoke at first in private houses or in the open, and then built chapels on the outskirts of the older settlements. They had come but recently when the American Revolution broke out, and almost without exception their leaders were loyal to the Crown, but Francis Asbury was sympathetic with the colonists and by vigorous campaigning he made the recovery of Methodism possible after the war. The Arminian theology of the Methodists was disliked by the older sects, but a part of the Baptists in northern New England already had reacted against Calvinism under the leadership of Benjamin Randall and had organized separately as Freewill Baptists. Their organization maintained a separate denominational existence until early in the twentieth century, when a reunion with the regular Baptists took place. Methodists and Baptists became rivals for popularity in communities where Congregational or Presbyterian churches were too sedate and traditional to suit the taste of many. With its fresh, free gospel Methodism particularly revitalized religion, energized conscience, and gained a strong hold upon the everyday life of everyday people by its novel agencies of itineracy, lay preaching and class meetings.

Absorption in material interests and the distractions of political issues and the Revolutionary War diverted the attention of many people from religion. Considerable skepticism prevailed in quarters where the influence of French philosophy and politics was strong. Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* had a wide vogue. These tendencies elicited sharp remonstrances from ministers who were jealous for

their religion. They preached sermons calling upon the people to fulfill their religious obligations. In this way attention turned again to religion and a quickening of interest resulted in widespread concern for spiritual welfare. Meetinghouses were thronged and new congregations were gathered. The movement was widespread and infidelity waned before it.

The evangelical reawakening in the East was not so conspicuous as on the frontier. It was apparent in a quiet, deep conviction that personal religious obligation to repent and believe must be met without shirking. The revivals were local and were mainly the fruit of the faithful service of pastors, sometimes assisted by neighboring ministers. They were not marked by remarkable leadership. It was characteristic of the movement that it was both widespread and permanent. Interest might slacken, but there was not the unfortunate reaction that followed the earlier, more emotional revivals. Certain years were memorable for the surging of the tide, others were marked by an ebbing of interest, but the evangelical churches steadily grew in membership and strength.

The reawakening was felt in the colleges as well as in the churches. President Timothy Dwight at Yale by his teaching turned the tide of skepticism that had overwhelmed the student body, and there were college revivals at frequent intervals during the years which followed. Necessarily the theology of the Church shifted its emphasis from the uncompromising Calvinism of the eighteenth century to the more comfortable doctrine of divine forgiveness and reconciliation. The methods of preaching were modified; there was more direct appeal than argument. Certain evangelists who gave their whole time to revival effort affected other ministers in their message and their method. Asahel Nettleton was conservative, appealing mainly to the motive of fear, preaching the old doctrine of human helplessness and the dread majesty of God and he followed his prospects to their homes and cultivated the seed which he had sown. But Charles G. Finney had a more humane theology, though he too declared that sin would have its punishment, and he pleaded with the people to appropriate for themselves the instruments of salvation. Finney had been educated for the law, and was qualified to become later the president of Oberlin College in Ohio. In his evangelistic meetings he made an innovation in inviting people to "the anxious seat" where they had his personal attention, and in this way he showed the possibility of new methods. Others opposed

such novelties, but the tendency was to depend on professional revivalists who made use of such methods.

Intermittent revivals continued until the time of the Civil War, when the armed camps were often scenes of religious fervor, but the war had the usual effect of dulling consciences and encouraging self-indulgence and lawlessness.

ON THE FRONTIERS OF SETTLEMENT

Frontier religion was more spasmodic and emotional. The migratory impulse had been present from the beginning of American settlement. Many of the second generation of settlers pushed inland and made their clearings along the bases of the hills or up the river valleys. The outward movement was due in part to a love of adventure and in part to need of more land. In New England new precincts of a town were marked off as population increased and new parish churches were organized. When people moved farther away into the open country, new churches were seldom feasible at first. If they were to be given any religion it must be through the willingness of ministers to itinerate, or through an organization which would supply religious instruction. Both methods were tried.

Baptist pastors at times left their churches and rode to Cape Cod or down the coast of Maine on a preaching tour. Others gave most of their time to an unattached mission as evangelists. Associations of churches appointed their agents to go into the South or to the western frontier of New York and Canada. Both Massachusetts and Connecticut Congregationalists organized voluntary missionary societies near the end of the eighteenth century, and in 1801 a Plan of Union was arranged between Congregationalists and Presbyterians for missionary undertakings in the new West. Volunteer societies worked best because they were composed of only those persons who were interested and would contribute to expenses. Missionaries sent out by such societies were paid meager salaries as contributions were small, but they worked faithfully in the midst of loneliness, fatigue and numerous hardships.

CAMP MEETINGS

From southern New York to northern Georgia the Appalachian Mountain range looms unbroken along the skyline. Migration moved away from the coast until it broke against that barrier and filtered through the interior valleys until it began to search for openings

through which it might find an outlet. Through western Pennsylvania it found a way down the Ohio valley. Farther south it worked up the Potomac and across country to the Ohio. From Virginia and North Carolina it discovered the Cumberland Gap into Tennessee. By these avenues bold, hardy pioneers made their way into the forests and grasslands of the Middle West. Kentucky and Tennessee were ready for statehood before the century was over, and Ohio by 1803. It was easy on the frontier to cast off the restraints of civilized codes and to forget the religious teachings of home and Church. While many nominal church members were among the emigrants there were few churches within their reach and they speedily became indifferent. But near the close of the eighteenth century a religious awakening came to the people of Kentucky and Tennessee, and new methods of evangelism were adopted. Outdoor gatherings, similar to those of Whitefield, attracted crowds of people. They came in to a center from their scattered clearings, camped in the forest, and remained for a series of protracted meetings. The opportunity for social intercourse had a powerful appeal to people who were starving for companionship. They were stirred by the evangelistic drive of the preachers, who tirelessly harangued their audiences and often encouraged emotional expression. Presbyterian preachers depicted an unrelenting God and discounted much feeling except contrition for sin, but Methodist exhorters presented God as yearning for his wayward children, and reminded them of the pathetic story of the Prodigal Son.

The people sat for long hours on rude benches or stood around the preacher's stand, until they became wax in the exhorter's hands as he warned them of the wrath to come when their sins would be brought to account. On the frontier the primitive emotions had fuller play than in the older communities. The same extravagant exhibitions of alarm and exuberant joy that appeared in England under Wesley's preaching and in the Great Awakening in America appeared in the Southwest. Out of the conversions of the camp meetings the churches gathered recruits and the morals of the region showed sudden improvement. Controversy among the Presbyterians over methods resulted in division. Two presbyteries took the radical step of licensing untrained young men, when it was Presbyterian tradition that only educated men should be permitted to preach. The conservative majority of the denomination refused to countenance the irregularity, and the result was the organization among the

revivalists of a separate body of Cumberland Presbyterians, a reminder of the Separate, or New Light, Congregationalists of New England after the Great Awakening.

THE WESTWARD TREK

While these religious readjustments were occurring emigrants were continually moving westward. Once they had pierced the mountains it was comparatively easy to go on. Many built rafts and floated with the current down the Ohio River to the Mississippi; others penetrated the Lake country farther north. They pushed up tributary streams, avoiding the unbroken forests. Thus they made their way across Indiana and Illinois. At St. Louis they met the French movement that had come up from Louisiana. By 1820 Missouri was ready for statehood. It was apparent that America had acquired a momentum that would not be checked until her dynamic energy had sent men, women, and children to the western edge of the continent.

The Christian education of the new West was not prosecuted with much unity or system. Missionaries went out where the need seemed greatest. The missionary societies were directed by men who were saturated with the evangelistic spirit, willing themselves to go out as preachers of the Gospel, some of them with actual missionary experience. They saw that unless the West should be Christianized the whole nation would be in danger from irreligion. But they had to depend on missionary candidates who volunteered their services and not on the voluntary gifts of the men and women of the churches. The country was so vast that administration was largely in the hands of the individual missionaries.

There were four stages in the missionary march toward the West. The first was in the lake and river country east of the Mississippi where more than eight hundred thousand people had settled by 1835. The second was a ministry to Indians and foreigners on the prairies. After the Civil War many soldiers and other Americans settled on the prairie and European immigrants improved the opportunity to get broad lands. Across the Mississippi the Indians on the reservations needed the Gospel from sympathetic and devoted missionaries. The third stage carried the missionaries to the open ranges and the mountains where ranchers, cowboys, and miners constituted a rough and somewhat lawless element. The fourth stage to the Pacific had already been reached before the intervening country was much settled.

THE TREK OF THE MISSIONARY

It was the missionary's task to follow the settlers, reclaiming those who had lost their church connections, appealing to the careless to remember their religious and moral obligations, preaching in houses or under trees, gathering groups of Christians into churches and organizing Sunday schools for their children, baptizing converts and distributing Bibles and tracts for their edification, and when the right time came encouraging the people to erect a meetinghouse and find a pastor. Most of the people were so scattered that they had to wait a long time before pastor and meetinghouse were available, and then the assistance of a missionary society was needed to defray unusual expenses.

The missionary did not wait for all these things before he moved on toward the western horizon. His handicaps were enough to discourage any but the most dauntless men. One of them wrote of his experiences:

In the first settling of this country I had to encounter a great many difficulties, there being no roads nor bridges, and but a few ferry-boats. I had to swim creeks, sleep sometimes in camps and cabins without floors and preach under trees. But myself and one or two other brethren preached a great deal in the infant settlements, and when a sufficient number of disciples could be gathered, we formed them into small churches. But amidst all the difficulties and exposure of my health, I have seen some happy seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord, and have had the pleasure of baptizing nearly five hundred in the course of fourteen years.

It was part of the missionary's task to plan schools as well as churches, for the young people must not be allowed to grow up in ignorance. By 1830 ambitious communities were founding denominational colleges east of the Mississippi. Energetic missionaries even started periodicals in which they contended against erroneous religious and social principles. Peculiar notions, fanatical and socialistic, were characteristic of the frontier. The westward trail was strewn with experiments in unconventional religion. The perennial hope of the second coming of Christ in visible form revived under the propaganda of William Miller, a New York farmer. He fixed a date for it in the year 1843, and stirred up many followers to dispose of their property and watch eagerly for the expected appearance. When the day passed uneventfully, they were distressed and scoffed at, but most of them kept their faith and Adventism was organized into two

denominational groups, the Advent Christians and the Seventh Day Adventists.

The Shakers were the followers of Ann Lee of England, who reported that Christ had appeared a second time in her. From New York as a center Shaker settlements were planted, where celibate men and women lived and toiled in a communistic organization. Other experiments in communism were tried in the state of New York, but with small success. Spiritualism, introduced by the Fox sisters, satisfied the craving of certain credulous folk for the occult, and gave comfort to the bereaved who could believe that they were brought into communication with those whom they loved in another world.

The most bizarre movement among quack religions was Mormonism. Originating in the alleged discovery of the Book of Mormon by Joseph Smith, the Mormons, or Latter Day Saints as they called themselves, turned westward to a promised land where they could build up the kingdom of God in their way. By means of missionaries they gained adherents in Europe, and first in the Middle West and then in Utah they set up their home. There they made the arid country blossom by means of irrigation, but their practice of polygamy made them distrusted as a social menace, and the United States Government required the abandonment of polygamy as a condition of the admittance of Utah to statehood. Mormonism spread through the mountain states, and has remained an alien gospel feared by conventional Christians but never revolutionary in attitude or conduct.

Since the work of the missionary was carried on under denominational auspices, it was natural that the system of denominational organization should be extended westward. Those bodies which had a centralized organization with official control over local churches and ministers found little difficulty in completing their organizations and maintaining control of the home missionary enterprise. More loosely organized denominations devised new machinery. Associations and presbyteries were created to maintain connection between local churches. A state convention or conference proved to be a convenient instrument for more minute observation and continual assistance in church extension than national missionary societies could give, and the convention and the national society were glad to coöperate.

One unfortunate result of home missionary activity was the extension of sectarian rivalry into villages and hamlets. To extend and

perpetuate Eastern rivalries in the struggling communities of the West was to waste men and money, and to multiply churches in certain localities beyond present or prospective population, but every settlement expected to grow into a city and wanted the luxury of denominationalism.

By 1890 the frontier American country had disappeared officially. The best land had been occupied. Arid land was yet to prove its value under irrigation, but the homestead era of the emigrant farmer was at the beginning of the end. Thereafter settlements filled up and spread out. Missionary societies learned to coöperate and to allocate territory to the society that could care best for a given area, and not to neglect any section. The Home Missions Council was organized for such coöperative functioning, and the worst evils of the period of rivalry were overcome. Single denominational societies took a larger view of their task. The earlier evangelistic undertaking of carrying a gospel of redemption to individuals, expanded into a gospel of building civilization on a more Christian basis. The scope of missionary work was extended to give more adequate aid to the undeveloped and unadjusted peoples who made up a part of America. The Indians were not forgotten and the colored people of the South became a special care.

INDIAN MISSIONS

The Indians whom the Europeans found in the New World were pagan in religion. The Europeans felt their responsibility to convert them, and both Catholics and Protestants were soon at work among them, each in their own way. Friars were commissioned to accompany the Spanish exploring expeditions, and by the time the Puritans were busy with their Massachusetts Bay settlements forty-four Catholic missions had been established in Florida with nearly thirty thousand adherents, all under the direction of the Franciscans. During the same period Franciscan missionaries went into the Southwest with Spanish expeditions and rapidly won the Indians to the Catholic religion. But late in the seventeenth century the Indians of New Mexico rose against their masters and drove them out, and it was only after a struggle that the Spaniards recovered their position and forced the natives to submit. Religious indifference and rapid decline in population followed.

French missionaries were more venturesome than the Spaniards. Instead of following in the wake of conquest the Jesuits pushed out

among the untamed Indian tribes, making perilous journeys among unknown lakes and streams and through the forests. From the Indians of Maine up through the forests to the St. Lawrence valley, westward along the Great Lakes, and down the upper tributaries of the Mississippi to the Father of Waters, the missionaries paddled their canoes, searching out native villages. Sometimes they suffered terrible torture and martyrdom at the hands of hostile red men, but they persisted resolutely in their purpose. They planted the cross where they preached, baptized their converts and administered the sacrament of the mass, but the Indian character remained unchanged. In Louisiana French Catholicism gained a permanent foothold, but after the English conquest there was little to show for the pioneering in the Mississippi valley.

Although most English colonists came to feel that the only good Indian was a dead Indian, attempts were made from the first to give Protestant Christianity to the natives. An early colonial law required the instruction of Indian children in Virginia, and William and Mary College made provision for the education of Indian youth. In New England missionaries were soon at work among the Indians; Harvard College welcomed Indian students and trained young white men for missionary service; Dartmouth College was started as an Indian school, and the colony at Plymouth voted to evangelize the natives. Roger Williams made friends of the natives and prepared a *Key to the Indian Language*. John Eliot taught the Christian religion to groups of Indians in the vicinity of Boston, prepared religious literature for them in their own tongue, and even translated the whole Bible. The Mayhew family evangelized the Indians on lonely Martha's Vineyard, and others on Nantucket and Cape Cod. Before King Philip's War broke out in the latter part of the seventeenth century, villages of "praying Indians" included three thousand six hundred converts, many of them genuinely transformed in character, but that war was a grave disaster to the missions. In western New England were missions to the Berkshire Indians. Dutch Reformed missionaries promptly worked up the Mohawk River in search of converts, established a center at Schenectady, and were soon preparing their liturgy in the Indian language. The Episcopalians replaced it with theirs after the transfer of the colony to England. The Quakers and the Moravians went among the Indians of the Iroquois Confederacy, and David Brainerd by a brief but singularly devoted life gained an imperishable fame for his efforts to win the Delawares.

In 1810 the Congregationalists of the United States organized the first foreign missionary society and promptly sent missionaries to the Indians of Georgia, Christianizing and civilizing the people until the Indians were forced to give up their lands to white settlers and accept strange lands beyond the Mississippi. Everywhere the Indians were crowded out in the East as population increased, but in some cases they kept the religion and the church organization with which they were familiar. The Indians came to be regarded as wards of the Government, and it became the settled policy of the nation to place them on specified reservations, both for their own protection and for the safety of the white settlers. Such a policy necessitated providing for the needs of the Indians and it tended to pauperize them. With the best of treatment they could not thus have attained to the arts of civilized living, for they needed to be taught how to care for themselves, but as it was they were not even properly cared for because many of the Indian agents found maladministration easy and lucrative. The missionaries sent out by Eastern societies proved the best friends of the Indians, giving them sympathy and help, providing them with schools, and teaching them the rudiments of religion and civilization. They contributed much to prepare them for the responsibilities which Government finally thrust upon them as individual citizens. Besides the Indians in the United States were the natives of Alaska, to whom other missionaries found their way.

EFFECTS OF HOME MISSIONS

The importance of the movement of expansion in the development of the American nation is hardly realized. Without that organized enterprise the vast interior might have become thoroughly materialistic in its ideals and irreligious in its habits. With timely aid the finer side of human nature was cultivated, the nobler purposes encouraged, and the best motives stimulated. Starting as humble missions in a struggling town, many an enterprise developed with startling rapidity into churches able to maintain themselves and to mold the life of a populous city. The Middle West contributed to the development of the Farther West, helped to preserve the Union in the critical days of the Civil War and furnished national leaders in all departments of national activity in the years that followed. A modified Puritanism survived in the states which were along the New England line of latitude. Blending with social

and religious strains from Pennsylvania and Virginia, it continued to make its contribution throughout the Mississippi valley. New varieties of Protestantism came into existence. Especially rapid in their growth were the Disciples of Christ, who accepted the principles of a common Christianity preached by Alexander Campbell. The early part of the nineteenth century was a time of strong denominational feeling, and the Campbellite message that primitive conditions of Christianity should be restored as they were before either Catholicism or denominational Protestantism had contaminated it sounded good, but instead of uniting all Christendom the movement resulted in another denomination. Similar but with fewer adherents was the Christian Connection. Baptists divided over the propriety of missions, Sunday schools, and theological schools, resulting in the anti-effort Primitive Baptists, as the Presbyterians had divided over revivalism. Lutherans broke apart according as they maintained the Augsburg Confession only or added other parts of the Book of Concord. Methodists had their internal differences of opinion and split apart more than once on such issues as lay leadership. Even the Protestant Episcopal Church lost some of its low churchmen to form the Reformed Episcopal Church. This multiplication of sects made many a local map of religion a checkered pattern, but they all joined in the generally accepted methods of Christian service. Differentiated in organization, they were an integral force for moral progress, for missionary endeavor, and for the maintenance of an evangelical Christianity.

GROWTH OF NONCONFORMITY IN GREAT BRITAIN

The evangelical revival generated by Methodism in England had a quickening influence upon the nonconformist churches. In the nineteenth century many of the ministers preached evangelistically, and steady increase in church membership resulted. In Scotland the confidence of the people in the correctness of their Calvinistic theology and their presbyterian system made it difficult to arouse them from their routine practices in religion. They attended kirk and listened to the prayers and sermons of the dominie, but their religion was unemotional. About 1800 two brothers Haldane applied energy and wealth to an effort to evangelize Scotland. When the Presbyterian General Assembly condemned evangelism, tabernacles were built, itineracy was tried, and theological students were put in training for revival preaching, and when that home missionary enterprise

was on its feet similar projects were extended to France and Switzerland. In 1843 occurred the schism in the Church of Scotland over the question of lay patronage, when Thomas Chalmers led a secession from the General Assembly and organized the Free Kirk, a schism that remained nearly a century.

The Welsh people inclined temperamentally to revivals, and at times were moved powerfully by evangelism. These revivals sobered thousands who had used liquor to excess, settled long time feuds, converted criminals, created sensitive consciences so that men paid old debts and restored stolen property, and rival denominations drew together.

THE MOODY MEETINGS

About 1870 Dwight L. Moody, an American evangelist and Sunday school worker, stirred the people of Great Britain by religious campaigns in the large halls of the provincial cities of England and Scotland, and then in London where for months he attracted crowds to his meetings. He preached the evangelical gospel of human sin and the necessity of salvation through Jesus Christ, but he emphasized the love of God which yearned after the sinner and sought to draw him to Himself. Moody was able to recover many backsliders who had lost interest in religion; he aroused thousands of unchurched; and he gave an impetus to temperance reform. He returned to America with a reputation for Christian achievement, and for a number of years he continued his successful career of evangelism, supplementing it with the development of educational institutions which he organized for boys and girls with limited means at Northfield, Massachusetts. In his later years he held summer conferences at Northfield, which drew together thousands of Christian people eager to hear the best speakers and leaders to be obtained from England and America. The campaigns of Moody were aided by the continual use of gospel singing, and the success of the methods used resulted in their adoption by thousands of pastors and by a considerable number of professional evangelists in both England and America. Evangelism was followed by gathering the converts into existing churches, enlisting them in active service and in sharing the financial burdens of the churches, and requiring them to abstain from questionable methods of recreation that they might be wholly devoted to their religious obligations and live with no suspicion as to their Christian character. Evangelicalism tended to be ascetic with

regard to the "attractions of the world," in particular in the use of playing cards, and participation in the dance and the theater. Private virtue in these respects was regarded as more consequential than high social ideals and participation in measures of social reform. Needless to say that Methodism especially represented the evangelical ideals and thrived throughout the period.

THE SALVATION ARMY

The most conspicuous example of militant Christianity since 1870 is the Salvation Army. It began in 1865 as an evangelizing agency to get hold of the submerged tenth of British city slums, which at that time was untouched by the churches. William Booth, a Methodist, was too unconventional in his methods of rounding up human derelicts into the Methodist chapels, and he started his own independent enterprise in the heart of London. He pitched his gospel tent in the reeking slums, won a hearing in spite of rowdiness, and in 1878 introduced the military features into an organization which was already outgrowing England. As general of the Salvation Army he continued to direct its policies with autocratic power, establishing posts in charge of his lieutenants in various cities of England, America and the Continent, and even reaching out to distant Asia. With sensational methods, especially band music, people were drawn to open-air meetings on street corners and in halls, besought to give up their sinful lives, and to take the salvation freely offered in Christ. Again and again men were rescued from the depths of degradation and transformed into good Christians and citizens. Then the Army broadened its work to include social service, because it saw the needs of the people among whom it ministered. After 1889 the Army established rescue homes, farm colonies, and labor bureaus. Booth obtained money for his enterprises from the sale of his sensational book, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, and from friends of the movement who believed in it in spite of its unconventional methods. In America the autocratic methods of control proved unpopular, and Ballington Booth, unable to obtain a modification of the system from his father, withdrew from the organization of which he had been in charge and organized the Volunteers of America. Later modifications proved to be necessary to fit the organization of the Salvation Army to the more democratic phases of European social organization after the World War. The Army was a radical experiment, about which most church people were skeptical at first, but it

won respect and cordial support as its fruits were seen and appreciated.

THE GERMAN INNER MISSION

With the decline of Pietism and the rising strength of rationalism German religion seemed formal and unreal. The people needed to be stirred to an increased interest in a vital, practical religion. Early in the nineteenth century when Germany arose from its defeat at the hands of Napoleon and became patriotic, and when Goethe replaced rationalism with romanticism, Schleiermacher rescued religion from its cold intellectualism and Neander inspired people with the story of the Christian past, the people turned anew to God, and a religious awakening occurred which may be compared with the contemporary evangelical revival in America, though it showed its effects in a different way. One consequence was the Evangelical Union of Lutherans and Calvinists which was effected in 1817 in Prussia and several other states. Another result was the organization of Bible and tract societies for the distribution of religious literature. Still another was the stimulus supplied to certain men who were willing to give their lives to self-sacrificing service, such as John Frederick Oberlin had already given to the country folk of the Alsatian Mountains.

John H. Wichern was one of these men. Trained for the Christian ministry, he commenced his work as a teacher in the first German Sunday school in the environs of Hamburg. Depressed by the misery of the people he founded a home which became a model for child-saving institutions, and with burning conviction he urged the churches to undertake an Inner Mission to the lowly folk throughout the land. The result was a home mission enterprise which grew with the years, enlisted Theodore Fliedner, its second great leader, and ramified through central Europe. Fliedner organized deaconess associations, which established mother houses, including hospitals, orphanages, and rescue homes, and enrolled thousands of women for Christian service. Out of Kaiserswerth, their center, went foreign missionaries to many distant lands to undertake similar service. Stimulated by the evangelistic meetings held in England and America, both ministers and lay preachers evangelized among the people, who held a nominal membership in the State Church but had no personal experience of religious values. Those who were thus energized organized their prayer circles and met in Pietist conventicles. Special

tent and theater meetings were maintained, and revival periods followed with more or less temporary interest after the fashion of American evangelism. City missions were organized as in English-speaking lands. Various organizations were created for children and young people. Numerous agencies were established to cope with social ills. The Inner Mission enlarged its scope beyond the expectation of its founders. It was all an evidence that German Protestantism was throbbing with life, like the Protestantism of America and Great Britain, and that similar methods proved useful to meet the social and religious needs of the people.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. What was there about Methodists and Baptists that made them popular rivals?
2. What was the Evangelical Reawakening? Compare it with the Great Awakening and the camp meetings.
3. Why is the westward movement the great American epic?
4. Describe the difficulties of home missions. What were the stages of its progress?
5. Explain the peculiarities of Shakers, Adventists and Mormons.
6. Tell the story of Indian missions. Compare the treatment by the American Government.
7. How were home missions beneficial?
8. Why was denominationalism so strong on the frontier, and what was the attitude of the Campbellites in the matter?
9. Compare Moody and Booth as evangelists.
10. Compare the German Inner Mission with American home missions.

For class discussion or debate

1. A critique of the methods of the Salvation Army.
2. Were the revivals on the frontier of permanent moral value?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. Father Marquette and the Jesuit missions of the Northwest.
2. John Eliot.
3. Francis Asbury.
4. The Plan of Union of the Congregationalists and Presbyterians.

For longer written essays

1. The Home Mission college.
2. Itinerancy on the frontier.

3. The efficiency of voluntary organization of home missions.
4. Thomas Chalmers.
5. A character study of William Booth.

For conference and examination

1. The psychology of the camp meeting.

For maps and tables

1. A map to show the Catholic missions in America.
2. A map to show the western progress of any one of the denominations.

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 DORCHESTER. History of Christianity in the United States
 ROWE. History of Religion in the United States
 MODE. The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity
 DAVENPORT. Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals
 CLARK. Leavening the Nation
 DOYLE. Presbyterian Home Missions
 SMITH, J. A. A History of the Baptists in the Western States east of the Mississippi
 TIPPLE. Life of Francis Asbury
 HANNA. Memoirs of Thomas Chalmers
 BEGBIE. Life of William Booth
 LAMB. Social Work of the Salvation Army
 MOODY. Life of D. L. Moody
 OHL. The Inner Mission

CHAPTER XXIV

THE FOREIGN MISSION ENTERPRISE

MODERN PIONEERS

THE missionary impulse which was so pervasive in the primitive days of Christianity was interrupted as other interests demanded the attention of Christian people. In the Middle Ages the Catholic Church carried on propaganda among the pagans of northern Europe, winning one country after another to allegiance to the cross. Occasionally individuals were fired to go to the heathen on their own responsibility, like Raymond Lull in the thirteenth century, who thought it more Christian to try to convert Mohammedans than to crusade against them. It might have been expected that the Reformation would send out its missionaries to evangelize the unenlightened, but the Protestants were absorbed in their own struggle for existence, and apparently they were too provincial to feel any responsibility for pagans or Mohammedans. It was only at Halle under Pietist auspices that the missionary spirit was alive, and there the Danish king found missionaries for his native subjects in India.

The Catholics were not neglectful of their opportunity to win converts among Asiatics as among American Indians. Jesuit enthusiasm carried the cross to the Far East under the leadership of Francis Xavier. Catholicism forced itself upon Latin America from northern Mexico to Cape Horn. Later, after the British colonies had become the United States, European emigrants brought Catholicism with them, but technically the United States remained Catholic mission territory. After 1622 Catholic missions were put in charge of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, a college for missionary training was established, and societies instead of governments patronized the missionary enterprise. Within recent years the United States has become so well organized for Catholic purposes that it was taken out of the category of mission territory.

PROTESTANT BEGINNINGS

Except in a few initial enterprises carried on by governments Protestant missions have been voluntary in organization and enlist-

ment. Once the impulse was felt a boundless opportunity opened before the American mind. More than two hundred millions of people in dark-skinned India, uncounted millions in China, a closed country in Japan, and the vast sweep of primitive natives of Africa and the Pacific islands, remained in ignorance of the Christian religion after nearly eighteen hundred years of church history. Christianity had won a hearing in South India, but it made only a slight impression there. Most of the pagan and Mohammedan countries were untouched. Meanwhile European nations were pushing their political and economic enterprises into all seas. Voyages of discovery like that of Captain Cook in the South Sea were acquainting people more intimately with far-off folk. Evangelical groups in England and America prayed for the salvation of the heathen, and presently sentiment crystallized into activity.

William Carey was an English cobbler and Baptist preacher who thus prayed. He read Cook's *Voyages* and felt the pagan need. He studied the map of the world and dreamed of going as a missionary to Tahiti. He talked missions in a ministers' conference, but received little sympathy. At last he persuaded a small group of Baptist ministers who were meeting at Kettering to organize a foreign mission society in 1792, and the next year he was in India as its first missionary. Baptist organization was followed by the formation of the London Missionary Society in 1795, at first undenominational but later a Congregational enterprise, and in 1799 the Church Missionary Society of the Evangelicals in the Church of England. It was by such voluntary action, not by ecclesiastical authority, that the foreign mission enterprise was launched in England.

THE FIRST MISSIONS

After some initial discouragement the English Baptists rooted themselves in Indian soil at Serampore in Bengal, and for a time set the pace for the missionary societies. In Asia they extended their missions to Burma, China and Japan. In the West Indies they won twenty thousand members on the island of Jamaica, and took an active interest in the abolition of slavery. Carey and his associates in India were able to demonstrate the possibilities of self-support, and released funds in the home treasury for missions elsewhere. Carey was also a champion of educational institutions on the mission fields, and the missions were put on a solid footing by training native leaders. It took time to make a beginning, but when

native indifference and hostility were overcome the harvest was large.

The London Missionary Society sent its first missionaries into the islands of the Pacific Ocean, where they had remarkable success among the primitive islanders, though much of their success was destroyed by intercourse with traders and sailors. At first the missionary society worked on the theory that the islanders must be civilized before they were Christianized, but soon it became plain that religion was the best civilizer. In the first ship they sent out carpenters, weavers, and other artisans, with only four ministers, but they found that the best combination was a missionary who could handle tools. John Williams was such a man who went out from England and achieved wonders in transforming the Samoans and other islanders before he was murdered in the New Hebrides. Robert Morrison sailed to China as a missionary of the same society, studying and translating the language years before he was permitted to try active propaganda. After thirty years he had won only ten converts, while Williams civilized a whole island within a few years. It was far easier to make an impression on the plastic Kanaka than to make a dent upon the intellect of the smug Oriental. Neither China nor Japan welcomed the missionary of a foreign religion. They had their civilization and their Eastern faiths and Christianity tolerated neither. In those lands the missionary enterprise moved slowly and discouragingly.

A third missionary society of prominence was the Wesleyan Missionary Society. It had a share in Christianizing the Pacific and civilizing Fiji, and in Africa and the Far East it took part in the missionary task with credit to itself. The Scotch Presbyterians sent out a pioneer to West Africa as early as 1796. Both the Established Church and the Free Church organized foreign mission committees. Among well-known Scotch missionaries were Alexander Duff, who based native instruction in the Presbyterian schools in India on the English language rather than the vernacular, a practice which became general; John Paton, who gave the years of his life to the New Hebrides; Robert Moffat, who started modern missions in South Africa about 1820; and David Livingstone, who disclosed to the world the region of the Zambesi and the great lakes of the interior, and helped to destroy the African slave trade. The Scotch planted successful mission stations on the lakes subsequently.

AMERICAN MISSION ORGANIZATION

The missionary undertakings in Great Britain attracted the attention of Americans, and soon they were contributing to the expenses of the English stations, but the eighteenth century passed before any national society was organized. Americans were already engaged in home missions and as yet the resources of the people hardly seemed to justify more distant tasks. But youth knows no prohibition of that sort. A group of Williams College students in 1806 formed the Haystack Band of volunteers, and under their spur the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized by the Congregationalists in 1810. Samuel J. Mills was the moving spirit and Adoniram Judson another of the little company of young people which sailed away from the United States in a brave attempt to win India for Christ. Judson and Rice transferred their connection to the Baptists who organized in 1814 and Judson opened Burma, which became a worthy exhibit of what could be accomplished, especially among the illiterate tribes of the rural districts. Both of these first societies found their major tasks in the Indian country, but they extended their interests to China, Japan, and Africa, and the Congregationalists made the beginnings of an extensive mission to the Armenians of Asiatic Turkey.

For nearly thirty years Presbyterians and other Reformed churches contributed to the American Board, but at the end of that period denominational organization seemed to each group a better arrangement. Both Methodists and Episcopalians followed the example of the rest. Singularly enough Mills, with whom the American enterprise started, did not go to the Far East with the others, but visited the American Southwest, scouting for God and distributing copies of the Bible as he went. Largely through his influence the American Bible Society was organized in 1816 to circulate the Scriptures, in imitation of the British society which had been founded in 1804. Mills went on a missionary survey to Africa to encourage a negro mission and died on the return voyage.

In the organization of their enterprises the democratic, loosely organized denominations like the Congregationalists and Baptists created voluntary societies which perfected their own organization, marshalled their resources, appointed their representatives in the field and directed activities through boards of directors and salaried officers. Some denominations found it feasible to make a missionary board

an integral part of their denominational machinery. The Protestant Episcopal Church tried the experiment of a Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, but fifteen years later missions were transferred to two committees of the Church as a whole. Smaller denominations followed one or another of these methods, carrying on their independent operations in various regions.

CONTINENTAL ENTERPRISES

Through the interest of a few persons in the welfare of pagan peoples a Continental society was organized at Basle in Switzerland, and from its training school missionaries went to Russia, West Africa, India and China. The Basle society was undenominational, and it trained men who worked under Lutheran, Reformed, or English Free churches. A considerable proportion of its missionaries were craftsmen, able to start industrial enterprises and to meet part of their expenses through trade. The Berlin Missionary Society soon followed with successful missions in South Africa, and the Rhenish Missionary Society with missions of its own in South Africa and the Dutch East Indies. All of these organizations were unsectarian, but with the growth of a spirit of divergence between Lutherans and Reformed differences of opinion developed within the older societies and new experiments were tried out. Certain of these were engineered by individuals who had pet theories about the best methods. One or two were remarkably successful, like the Gossner Mission among the Kols of India, but even the new tended to become conventional in method after their early experiments.

The German states had no national interests to serve or any sense of obligation to pagan subjects, as in the case of the Danish government. The German missionary societies were voluntary organizations as in England and America. Other Continental missions of the nineteenth century were of the same voluntary character and were the product of the evangelical spirit so prominent among Pietists, Moravians and Methodists. In the Lutheran land of Denmark were a few Free churches, and they were the founders of the Danish Missionary Society organized in 1821, which aided other organizations for a time and then established its own mission among the Tamils of India. The Low Church party of the Danish national Church also carried on an Indian mission. Later Norwegian and Swedish societies came into existence, which found fields for their undertakings in various parts of Africa, India and China. The first

Dutch missionary organization was the Netherlands Missionary Society, which was the parent of a number of others, most of which operated in the Dutch East Indies. Thrifty and shrewd, the Dutch had seized an opportunity to build up a colonial empire in the Far East from which they obtained enormous profits. Java, Sumatra, and the Celebes Islands contained thousands of Malays who toiled on the plantations owned by the Dutch; it was no more than right that conscientious Dutchmen should try to show them that Europe had a religion to give them as well as a daily task. The later societies were specifically evangelistic in their methods.

Political conditions in France due to the Revolution and Napoleon discouraged any attempt of French Protestants to engage in missions, but after 1820 several local societies sprang up which were united in the Paris Evangelical Society. This society established a training school and later sent missionaries to Africa and China. In a number of cases where the French acquired political control of territory, as in Tahiti and Madagascar, the Paris Society was able to protect against the Jesuits certain Protestant enterprises which had been started but could be carried on no longer by the English.

In colonial regions like Australia and the West Indies, foreign mission societies have grown out of missions from the mother country. When the colonials were able they took over the task started at home, engaging first in home missions of their own, and then branching out to evangelize in other lands. Conspicuous among such organizations was the Hawaiian Evangelical Association with a notable work in Micronesia.

THE MISSIONARY TASK

The foreign mission enterprise began as a result of a conviction which lay heavily upon the hearts of the missionaries and their supporters that the pagan peoples would perish spiritually unless they were evangelized by the Christians. There was no recognition of any values in paganism. The heathen must be rescued from a sea of superstition, ignorance and degradation, and made to conform in conduct and belief to the standards of the Christian West. No distinction was made between the savages of the Pacific and of Africa and those of Asia who were steeped in their hoary Oriental civilization. All alike were cursed by idolatry and understood nothing of the truth about God and man and their proper relations. The methods used were crude. No careful surveys were made of the situation

which the missionaries must meet. They were not trained to meet the exigencies that were sure to arise. Few comforts were provided for them, and in every case they risked native hostility and in many instances lost their lives. Judson could languish for months in a Burma prison, Williams could furnish a meal for the natives of Erromanga, Morrison could cool his heels indefinitely at the door of China, but neither European nor American governments could protect them. The early missionaries and their wives gave abundant evidence of Christian heroism, as they tried under heavy odds to recommend the Christian gospel to people who understood little of what it meant. They made mistakes. Without precedent or experience, they had to advance by trial and error methods. They put too much faith in their ability to reach the minds and consciences of the natives, learning after a time that they must plant schools as well as churches, especially for the training of native preachers and teachers. They erred on occasion, as when they insisted on clothing the native Kankas in civilized fashion with unfortunate results to their health. They were compelled by circumstances to broaden their service with medical assistance, industrial guidance, philanthropy, and literary contributions to education. And what started as an evangel to individuals became an agency for the civilization of whole peoples.

INDIA

The audacity of the missionary task can be appreciated only as the countries are visualized and the people in them. India and China were land masses of large area which included diversities of race and language, and which had a totally different civilization from the West. India was a name for the peninsula, with its scores of independent princes and its British claims to suzerainty. It had been conquered by a Mohammedan dynasty, whose king Akbar set up a magnificent court in the days of Elizabeth of England. This Mogul Empire had declined in the eighteenth century and fallen to pieces. That debacle made it possible for French and British to establish rival trading posts along the coast, and eventually to fight a battle for supremacy. Out of the conflict and confusion of politics and trade Great Britain emerged the winner, and from that time European civilization impinged more and more upon the country, and as occasion seemed to require the British administration of affairs was extended. This political administration was not directly administered by the Crown of England. The British East India Com-

pany, organized for trade in 1600, exercised civil jurisdiction over the districts where it operated until the Sepoy Mutiny occurred at the middle of the nineteenth century, when the British Government took over the direction of affairs.

Under the East India Company little liberty was given for Christian propaganda, but in 1813, the British Parliament, on issuing a new charter to the Company, insisted that no discrimination should be made against missionaries. That provision made it easier for missionary societies to carry on their operations. After the Mutiny more sections were occupied by the missions, and new varieties of service were undertaken. Medical missions were extended. Women's work for women received a new impetus after a zenana mission was organized. Religious literature was being published in large quantities. Attempts were made to weaken the hold of caste upon Indian society, for it was hindering the social development of the country. The handicap of foreign language was being overcome. In the villages elementary schools used the vernacular, but English became the basis of instruction in the grades and the institutions of higher learning. Pupils of college grade were relatively few, but missionaries improved the standards for the few, and provided theological schools for the training of native preachers. A most useful kind of religious industry was the work of native Bible women, who were trained in the knowledge and use of the Bible and commissioned to go into the homes and talk with the Indian women there. The Christian physician had an entrance to the homes and the hearts of the people in a way which the evangelist seldom gained, and hospitals were a demonstration of the spirit of Christian kindness.

The physical condition of the people was often wretched. Millions lived on the edge of poverty and a failure of crops meant widespread famine. Unsanitary conditions coupled with ignorance of the laws of health swept away millions by pestilence. Immoral teachings and practices under the guise of religion lowered moral standards, and the wholesale disregard of child welfare and even child sacrifice kept down the natural increase of population. All kinds of relief activities were needed and missionaries gave themselves frequently to the work of relief. Orphanages were founded, refuges for the care of lepers were provided. Industrial education and instruction in better agricultural methods made life less precarious by insuring an income. Criminals were turned over to the missionaries by the Government with confidence in their ability to reform

provincial governors and war lords thirst for power, and all sorts of institutions have suffered. But in 1907, one hundred years after Robert Morrison had gone to Canton, nearly three thousand five hundred foreign missionaries and nearly ten thousand Chinese preachers and teachers were in service, while one hundred and seventy-eight thousand persons were enrolled in Protestant churches, besides a Catholic constituency of nearly two million.

JAPAN

It was not until 1853 that an American naval commander pried open the closed door of Japan. That nation so long stagnant in ancient feudal ways had had unpleasant experiences with foreign traders and Catholic missionaries, had adopted a relentless policy of intolerance toward Christians, and refused to open its ports to trade, except for one Dutch ship a year. All other foreign intercourse was forbidden and Japanese were not permitted to leave the country. Shipwrecked American sailors were maltreated, and for their protection an American squadron was sent to back up treaty negotiations. The result was the extension of limited privileges of foreign commerce, and within twenty years a rapid movement toward the adoption of Western customs. National commissions visited Europe and America on tours of investigation and came back impressed with the mechanical and political inferiority of Japan. The nation was willing to go to school to foreign teachers. Believing that the Christian religion was a part of the Western system from which the nation could profit, the people received missionaries with courtesy and for about fifteen years responded in considerable numbers to their appeals. Verbeck, a Dutch Reformed missionary from America, was adviser to the Government in its plans for a national system of education. Another American missionary, Jonathan Goble, invented the *jinrikisha*, which proved a boon as great as the introduction of the automobile. Joseph Neesima, a Japanese of noble family, made his way to America where he received a Christian education, and returned to his country to found the Doshisha University, a landmark in the educational progress of the people.

After 1890 the Japanese had become sophisticated sufficiently to understand that it was not necessary to accept Christianity in order to acquire Western civilization and its advantages. A reaction against the Christian religion strengthened as a knowledge of science and philosophy made much of the missionary teaching seem untenable.

The Japanese were quick to appreciate and improve upon the researches and discoveries of the West, but they had their own patriotic cult of Shintoism, the Buddhism which they had imported from China, and as much of the ethical excellence of Confucianism as they cared to appropriate. Christianity was an exotic that could be spared without loss.

Meantime denominational missionary efforts had continued, and undenominational churches had been organized. The United Church of Japan combined the forces of the Presbyterian and Reformed churches. Between 1900 and 1910 the number of church communicants nearly doubled. By 1912 there were eighty-three thousand Protestants and about seventy thousand Catholics. In that year Government assumed a more cordial attitude, announcing that henceforth it would recognize Christianity as one of the religions of the nation. This made possible a friendly conference among Christians, Buddhists, and Shintoists, attended by representatives of the Government. Later years brought a consolidation of many of the Christian forces into closer organic union.

Korea has been evangelized in spite of the difficulties attending the transfer of sovereignty to Japan. With the passing of the Philippine Islands from Spain to the United States, the American denominations assumed the responsibility for establishing Protestant churches, and allocated the territory coöperatively that there might not be friction or duplication in missionary work.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ASIATIC MISSIONS

With the passing of the years the Christian denominations of the West have practiced greater comity and they have become more considerate of Oriental paganism. A comparative study of religious values revealed certain excellences in paganism that in all fairness must be recognized. Wholesale condemnation was no longer reasonable. Missionaries learned to discriminate between a degraded Hinduism and the ethics of Confucianism, between the Buddhist philosophy and the debased system of Buddhist monasticism, between the high principles of Shinto and the magic of an African witch doctor. Likewise the intelligent Asiatic is less confused than formerly over denominational differences, less docile toward an officious missionary, more insistent upon his right to direct his own organizations of religion, less hesitant about assuming responsibility and the obligation of self-support in exchange for self-

government. In Asia the twentieth century has brought rapidly changing conditions with a tendency to transfer the machinery of direction to the native Christians, and to demand a Christianity which in every respect will accord with Oriental ideas and ways.

THE NEAR EAST

Once Mohammedanism had acquired the fairest provinces of the Eastern Empire Christianity waged a losing battle in the Near East. The advance of the Turks changed a cultured Arab Government to a semi-barbaric régime, centering in Constantinople after 1453 and steadily encroaching on east central Europe for two centuries more. Little energy remained in the Christian patriarchates. Christian races, like Syrians and Armenians, were dominated by the Moslem. Subject peoples had no rights and few privileges. These conditions aroused the sympathies of the West and led to the advent of Protestant missions. It was felt that the people needed to be helped to a more vital, practical kind of Christianity than they were acquainted with, with their whole emphasis on ceremony and doctrine. Besides the Christians there was hope that Jews and even Mohammedans might be won to allegiance to the cross. After some preliminary experiments it became a settled missionary policy, chiefly of the American Board, to plant schools and to use the press for the circulation of the Bible in the languages of the people, and Beirut in Syria, Smyrna in Asia Minor, and Constantinople in Turkey in Europe, became strategic centers of propaganda.

It was not long before the Congregationalists found it feasible to plan for outlying mission stations to Armenians in the interior of Asiatic Turkey. They had no desire to antagonize the Armenian clergy but saw the value of schools and planted several at suitable points. The result was the enmity of the ecclesiastical authorities in the Armenian Church and the expulsion of those who were sympathetic with Western ideas. This made it necessary for the missionaries to help organize churches as well as schools, and the Turkish Government legalized the new Protestant organization in 1850. General prosperity attended the work of the schools and the mission generally in spite of occasional persecution, until in 1896 a serious massacre of the Armenians occurred, and scarcely had recovery taken place when the Turks deliberately planned the destruction of the Armenian race, and nearly accomplished their purpose in the disturbed years of the World War period.

The Near East greatly needed educational institutions and to satisfy the need certain schools were founded, which developed into institutions of rare value. Robert College at Constantinople brought together with a common purpose Greek and Armenian, Bulgarian and Turk, and steadily grew strong until it was able to weather the storm of the World War. Constantinople College, chartered in America for the education of young women, was comparable to the college for young men. Both institutions were undenominational, supported by the generosity of Americans. Both received students of any race or religion. Fourteen nationalities were represented at one time in the women's college. A third institution was the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut in Syria. It was in close proximity to the American mission which by agreement with the Congregationalists became Presbyterian after 1863. Like Robert College it aspired to be a university, and it drew into its circle of nearly nine hundred students in 1907 Moslems and Jews, Catholics and Protestants. At Smyrna were smaller but similar American schools for both men and women.

The Mohammedan world stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific along a belt of country including North Africa and Turkish territory to Persia and India and the islands of the East Indian archipelago. Egypt and Arabia have been little touched by Christian missions. The Turks were affected only indirectly by the residence of missionaries in their midst. But even Mohammedanism is becoming modified by modern thought and the Turkish Empire has come to an end. The Near East is moving into the twentieth century.

AFRICA

The Dark Continent falls naturally into two divisions. Its northern coast and hinterland came within the circle of lands known to the ancient world, fell under the victorious march of the Mohammedan armies in the seventh Christian century, and in the nineteenth century constituted a part of the sphere of ambition and increasing control of European nations. South of Egypt and the Sahara more than one hundred million black folks swarmed in their rude villages by lake or river or among the forests, owning only the governance of a tribal chief, the authority of the medicine man, and the law of custom. Religion was primitive and mixed with magic. Civilization, except where European colonies had touched the coast, was unknown. At the southern end Dutch Boers had marked out

farms for themselves and English traders had located Cape Town as a convenient halfway house where a ship might break the voyage to India. The Portuguese had mapped out a vague dependency on the west coast and another on the east, but Portuguese empire was on the wane. The future of Africa was uncertain until France took Algeria to herself and pushed inland, and the English began to move northward from South Africa into a vast unknown country, as American pioneers pushed into the West. Arab slave traders had long disturbed the peace of negro villages, and English seamen bought the human crop to profit from its transfer to American plantations. Few persons had any thought of African souls.

A few philanthropists in America planted a negro colony in Liberia on the west coast. A few devoted missionaries visited the fever-stricken districts farther south, only to die before they were acclimated. Representatives of English and German societies as well as Americans made the heroic attempt but were cut off by disease. Samuel Crowther, a negro bishop, was sent out by the Church Missionary Society to Nigeria to found a mission there, but progress was slow. The Congo region was visited by Livingstone and explored by Stanley, and Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries made their way into the region.

The natives of South Africa presented the difficult problem of people of a low grade of civilization in unhealthy contact with a white population intent on exploiting them. Strained relations were not uncommon and these were complicated by intertribal wars. The English in Cape Colony and the Dutch Boers who were settled in the Orange River State and northward into the Transvaal disagreed in their attitude toward the man of color. But there were always some persons in Europe and America who kept an interest in his welfare. The London Missionary Society sent out Robert Moffat to South Africa as a pioneer missionary in 1818, and he translated the Bible into the language of Bechuanaland. With him Livingstone oriented himself and undertook his first mission. Exploring expeditions revealed virgin territory which was a challenge to the missionary organizations. In the region of the great inland lakes the Scotch Free Church had an industrial mission, and Uganda was a field of experiment for a mission of the Church Missionary Society of England, with tragic accompaniments. These are examples of the enterprises which were attempted in the vast spaces of the Dark Continent.

The missionaries had to blaze their own path in determining the methods to be employed. Many times the natives were hostile or treacherous. Often the climate was a severe handicap. The missionaries were obliged to carry civilization in one hand and religion in the other. They won favor by their industrial leadership and their medical aid, and they tried to tell the story of Jesus in simple terms. It took patience and tact and perseverance. Languages had to be translated and a literature created. Changes in the political complexion of a region occurred as a result of international bargains made in Europe. But the missionaries accepted cheerfully whatever came to them, and the missionary boards at home pleaded with the home churches to supply the necessary funds and recruit the workers.

THE ISLANDS OF THE SOUTH SEA

The seeds of the Pacific Islands were scattered far at the initial sowing, and one wonders what human being first drifted across the vast Pacific. The islands vary in size from the great bulk of New Guinea to a single rock topping the surface of the ocean. Australia is on the western border, with New Zealand appropriated as colonial territory by Great Britain. The small island groups were too remote and insignificant to be incorporated into a colonial empire or were altogether unknown when Carey dreamed of undertaking a mission to Tahiti. One group after another was visited by sailors, traders or missionaries, and one or another European nation gave them the protection of its flag. Polynesia and Melanesia contributed to missionary annals their thrilling tales. American missionaries wrested Hawaii from paganism, transforming the people into a law-abiding, churchgoing folk. Over trackless leagues of sea missionary steamers sailed to far-off islands where few had ever been to bring the gospel of peace and salvation. No spot was too distant to escape the scouts of God. Cannibalism, ruthless feuds and intertribal wars, fetichism and magic arts, ignorance and degradation, were banished as the decades passed. The missionaries could not save a race which could not resist the temptations and diseases brought by careless or unscrupulous white men, but they did what they could to stiffen their resistance and to salvage human waste.

THE MISSIONARY IN NOMINALLY CHRISTIAN LANDS

Latin America was made Catholic by Spaniards and Portuguese. To some persons it has seemed impertinent that Protestant mission-

aries should attempt to proselyte there. But so great was the ignorance and superstition that American missionary societies felt themselves justified to enter and attempt to shed light on the darkness. Their forces have been massed in the cities of Mexico and the West Indies, in Brazil and Argentina, and have been only scattered elsewhere. Many years of effort in evangelism and education have resulted in small gains to the Protestant churches. Meantime Catholicism has been losing its grip slowly upon the upper classes of the people, and one republic after another has deprived the Church of the privileged position which it once held in national affairs.

Many of the countries of Europe which are Roman or Greek Catholic have been entered in a small way. Protestant missionaries have been unwelcome and often have suffered inconvenience if not ill treatment. Few appreciable gains have been recorded. But the missionary spirit of devotion flames high there as elsewhere, and the future is always tinged with expectation.

AT THE END OF A CENTURY

As the representatives of foreign missions who assembled at Edinburgh in 1910 took account of stock and estimated the results of a hundred years, certain noteworthy events emerged. Approximately ten million persons were adherents of Christian churches in non-Christian lands. Millions of dollars of voluntary contributions were spent annually by Protestant mission boards with the humanitarian purpose of transforming pagan life into Christian civilization. Family and village and national life already were undergoing profound changes. Personal character was being built with the rise of moral standards. Ancient customs, like witchcraft, human sacrifice, and the restraints of caste were giving way. Scientific treatment of disease was replacing the superstitions of the past. And the dynamic of the Gospel was supplying the energy necessary to reconstruct both personal character and the social order. Whole peoples were taking a different attitude toward international relations; better understanding of one another's point of view was coming; East and West had met and had come to respect one another. The pioneering period of missions had passed. Evangelism had been supplemented by education, literary effort, and various forms of social service. Readjustments were necessary, new methods of work, transfer of control from the foreign society to the native churches, further union of denominational forces in order to strengthen the missions and to test the

quality of native leaders and to satisfy the desire for self-government. The Edinburgh Conference was followed by continuation conferences in different lands and by a Congress for Latin American missions. More statesmanlike plans were outlined for the future. New leaders were taking the places of trusted men who were passing. But with all the changes the same original purpose was animating the people of the Western churches, the purpose to make Christ regnant in the life of the whole world. To that end men and women were as willing as ever to consecrate life and money through the years until the goal should be attained.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. How did Catholic missions differ from Protestant in motive and method?
2. What were the pioneer English organizations, and where did they go?
3. How did Americans commence their activities? Why did voluntary societies take the place of official denominational organizations?
4. How did German missions differ from English and American? In what respects were they alike?
5. Explain some of the difficulties of the pioneer days.
6. How did missions improve social conditions in India? Were these due to social campaigns or were they by-products?
7. Outline the social and religious changes that have come to China.
8. Why have missions in Mohammedan countries been especially difficult?
9. What methods have been required in Africa and the Pacific Islands, and what have been the results?
10. What recent changes in method and organization have taken place in Asiatic missions?

For class discussion or debate

1. Should the emphasis be put on education or evangelism?
2. Should the missionary enterprise be supported by whole churches or by voluntary societies?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY,

For brief themes or oral reports

1. Raymond Lull.
2. Henry Martyn.
3. Caste in India.
4. The United Church of Japan.

For longer written essays

1. The career of William Carey.
2. The educational methods of Alexander Duff.
3. The organization of the missionary enterprise.
4. The ethics of Confucianism.
5. Protestant mass movements in India.
6. The explorations of David Livingstone in Africa.

For conference and examination

1. A comparative study of the missionary methods in past and recent history.

For maps and tables

1. A map of missions in the Indian Empire.
2. A map to show the travels of Livingstone.
3. A list of twenty prominent missionaries of the nineteenth century and their fields of labor.

READING REFERENCES

Sources

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 ROBINSON. History of Christian Missions
 GLOVER. Progress of Worldwide Missions
 DENNIS. Christian Missions and Social Progress
 CAPEN. Sociological Progress in Mission Lands
 CAREY. Life of Carey
 STRONG. Story of the American Board
 JUDSON. Life of Adoniram Judson
 BLAIKIE. Life of David Livingstone
 RICHTER. History of Protestant Missions in India
 CARY. History of Protestant Missions in Japan
 BARTON. Daybreak in Turkey
 BARTON. Human Progress through Missions
 STEWART. Dawn in the Dark Continent
 EDDY. New Era in Missions
 BLAKESLEE. The Pacific Area

CHAPTER XXV

EDUCATION AND REFORM

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

THE concept of social progress is a modern one. Nature and human history illustrated the fact of genetic progress, though the mind of man was slow to understand. The idea of making human progress a definite purpose of social organization belongs mainly to the last two centuries. Even then the exponents of the idea differed as to the methods which should be used to gain the end sought. Some relied on the gradual process of education to make people understand how to live together profitably and peaceably. Others thought that the only remedy for human ills was by way of revolution and drastic reform. It was the function of the Christian Church to open the minds of those who came under its influence that they might have the teachable spirit, and to make it plain that there are Christian principles which underlie the whole course of progress. But during the Catholic period the church conception of education was of the transmission of a body of truth which must be accepted without question as the proper foundation of thought and conduct. Most minds were closed.

Protestants started with the same idea of a fixed deposit of truth, but they shifted the ground of their confidence from the tradition of the Church to the Bible. They thought that their children were educated sufficiently if they mastered the catechism and accepted for themselves the instructions of the pulpit. The Puritan went so far as to establish elementary schools in Scotland and New England, but in Old England the common people enjoyed no system of public schools. Schoolmasters in rural villages functioned whenever church or patron provided the funds, but it was not until Robert Raikes in Gloucester, England, experimented with an elementary Sunday school that the path of educational development was pointed out plainly. Attention to physical condition, instruction in the rudiments of reading, Bible study, and paid teachers, were all

included in the Raikes experiment, an indication of later developments in religious and secular education. The Sunday school was accepted as a valuable aid to religion and in America, where similar experiments had been tried as well as in England, it speedily became a customary auxiliary of the Church. There were people, like the Primitive Baptists, who objected to such new fads as Sunday schools, missions, and theological institutions, but in 1824 the undenominational American Sunday School Union was organized to extend Sunday schools throughout the country and to provide literary materials, and within five years it had issued more than six million copies of Sunday school publications. In the first decade of the twentieth century it organized twenty-five thousand new schools, resulting in one thousand churches. The various denominations promptly organized for educational purposes, establishing their publishing houses for the issue of tracts and books, and providing printed helps for Bible study. The earliest method of studying the Bible was to memorize parts of Scripture, and question books were prepared for drill in knowledge of the Bible. The American Sunday School Union introduced a plan for a five years' course of Bible study, with a selected number of verses every Sunday, with questions and notes prepared for practical use, thus anticipating the uniform and graded ideals of a later time. Experiments of this sort were tried in the United States and in England before 1850. In 1865 the plan of a lesson quarterly was adopted by the Sunday School Union and a religious weekly began to print comments on each Sunday's lessons, an arrangement which became generally adopted. Sunday school institutes and conventions helped to stimulate interest and to invent improvements. At one such convention a lesson committee of Sunday school publishers was appointed to prepare a seven years' series of lessons which should cover the entire Bible and should be urged upon the whole country. For twenty years this uniform lesson system was used generally by the Sunday schools of the evangelical churches, and it became international with its adoption by Great Britain and many mission churches and schools.

Naturally the denominational publishing houses with their valuable plates and copyrights were conservative in their attitude toward changes, and they paid the expenses of the lesson committee. But dissatisfaction began to be expressed, especially because some of the lessons did not seem suited to small children, grading was not provided for, and adult instruction was inadequate. Tentative attempts

to provide better methods and lesson helps were made independently. The steady improvement of secular schools made it imperative that Sunday schools should be improved if they were to hold their pupils, and by the end of the nineteenth century it was evident that extensive modifications must be made. A particularly valuable experiment was the normal instruction of teachers at summer assemblies and by means of local study classes.

The Chautauqua Movement for popular education grew out of a summer assembly for the better training of Sunday school teachers. It outlined a system of reading courses which were adopted widely by local groups of teachers and other interested persons, with an annual gathering at Chautauqua, New York. The assembly lasted for several weeks with lectures, entertainments and intensive study, culminating in a recognition service for those who had completed the prescribed amount of reading or study courses for the year. The original enthusiasm waned after a time and the organization changed, but the idea of better religious education was developed further in summer schools of methods and frequent institutes for teacher training. In 1903 the Religious Education Association was organized to put religious education on a broader basis than the Sunday school. Composed mainly of ministers and educators, it was able to organize itself into expert commissions which investigated conditions, planned improvements, and published useful aids for religious education, not only in the Sunday schools, but also in colleges, Young Men's Christian Associations, young people's societies, and organized classes.

THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS

Higher education in religious subjects was for those who took advanced courses in college or academy, where in early times a "body of divinity" or the theory of Christian evidences was discussed by the president. Fewer still learned the technique of Biblical study and methods of Christian work in the theological seminary. In America the first colleges were intended to be primarily for theological students, but the theological courses dwindled and by the nineteenth century it was becoming clear that special schools should be provided for ministerial candidates who would be well educated. Before many years the various denominations had standardized the theological curriculum in a three-year course of post-college professional instruction, based chiefly on the literature of the Bible studied in the original languages, systematic theology and apologetics, practi-

cal courses in homiletics and pastoral methods, and occasionally lectures on church history or the art of public speaking. Certain denominations like the Presbyterians were insistent on an educated ministry; others like the Methodist depended more on fervor and unction, but there was a general tendency toward higher standards in the Methodist organization, until its ministers took high rank in educated circles. With the broadening of general culture and the introduction of new subjects into the college curriculum the theological school found itself compelled to improve its facilities. Instead of taking men from the pulpit to fill its chairs of instruction, it turned more and more to the trained expert. It introduced new courses into the curriculum, in religious education and the social sciences, in philosophy and missions and religious literature. A few students who wished to specialize went to England or Germany to acquaint themselves at first hand with European scholarship.

With the increase of evangelism and the multiplication of opportunities for service in the churches there was a growing demand for religious workers other than ministers in both the home churches and in mission countries, and there were a great many rural churches which could not afford high-grade men. To meet this demand lower grade training schools were founded, like Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, which gave a less thorough preparation, but provided students with something of the technique of religious work. From such schools went out thousands of young men and women eager for Christian service wherever the opportunity opened. The more ambitious among them supplemented their short courses at summer schools of theology or by means of correspondence courses, such as were offered by the Institute of Sacred Literature at the University of Chicago.

In Great Britain clerical candidates for the Church of England depended on the universities for their education, but Dissenters did not have that privilege, and they found it advisable to establish their own colleges for the study of arts and for theology. In such cases a theological college might give courses in secular as well as religious subjects, as did Henry Drummond in the Free Church College at Glasgow, lecturing on natural science and showing how there was no essential conflict with religion at a time of conflict and controversy. In Germany theological and Biblical science remained university subjects of instruction, and eminent professors attracted students from England and America.

COLLEGE EDUCATION

The education of the Christian mind could not be confined to Sunday schools and theological seminaries, and to such experiments as summer assemblies. As the eager youth of the Middle Ages clustered about men who were able to teach and constructed and reconstructed their ideas by what they heard and read, so the Protestant people felt the need of centers of instruction and planted schools to satisfy the need. Long before high schools came into vogue academies were founded by private teachers or church organizations, first in England and then in the United States, where Christian parents could send such of their children as seemed likely to profit from their study, or might prepare themselves for institutions of higher grade. The academies became normal schools which trained the teachers of lower schools, gave girls as well as boys an opportunity for an education, and equipped boys to become leaders in their communities. They saved the American West from becoming crudely rustic as well as rural.

Most of the denominational colleges began as academies, but they were ambitious to improve their status as fast as their funds would permit. With the advantage of a tradition of culture Eastern colleges like Harvard, Yale and Princeton, enjoyed a prestige of their own and fixed the standards, but all over the South and West freshwater colleges were started under home mission auspices and supplied professional men with the fundamentals of their education. Such denominational colleges were the first to supply coeducational opportunity, recognizing that women as well as men wished to continue beyond the academy, and when the resources of the small college proved inadequate state universities with more ample funds continued the same generous policy. The time came when the state universities with thousands of students in a single group became worthy rivals of the earlier universities of the East.

During the nineteenth century the president and most of the professors of the denominational college were ministers and a religious atmosphere was felt. Such schools maintained voluntary religious meetings, and produced most of the candidates for the ministry and the missionary enterprise. The Young Men's Christian Association and the Student Volunteer Movement found cordial support in them. In the state universities it was different. The accepted principle of the separation of Church and State prevented university recognition of religious activities and tended to produce a secular

atmosphere. To counteract the tendency to irreligion denominational boards of education appointed university pastors under their own auspices to reside in university towns and serve as advisers to students of their own connection, and to supply religious centers where interest in ideals might most easily be sustained. Coming into contact with modern thought, many students from Christian homes, understanding only a conservative interpretation of religion, were confused and sometimes lost their confidence in religion. To such the college pastor was often a means of regaining a tottering faith and of reconciling knowledge with truth. College religion, whether at a state university or a denominational college, tended to become unconventional, and to express itself in humanitarian service rather than in creeds and religious meetings. Between a materialistic science and a realistic philosophy on the one hand, and an appeal to a spiritual religion and an *a priori* theology on the other, the student was inclined to take refuge in a form of activity which satisfied his conscience without recourse to decisive thinking. He listened willingly, though somewhat skeptically, to leaders of the religious world who in turn filled the college pulpit, but he was his own authority and he usually shirked the responsibility of reaching thoroughly worked-out intellectual conclusions. Afterwards he too often drifted away from any connection with organized religion.

RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

Besides the medium of the schools education was promoted by the printed page. Literature of all sorts poured in increasing volume from the presses after the art of printing became perfected. Protestants became accustomed increasingly to think for themselves, and the minister proportionately lost his authority. Leaders of thought gained an increasing audience through their books. Great preachers spoke through their volumes of sermons to thousands where formerly they were limited to hundreds. The Clapham Group of evangelicals near London and the Concord intellectuals near Boston contributed conspicuously to literature and philosophy, history and the art of present living. Wordsworth in the English lake country and Goethe in Germany wrote profoundly in verse about the mysteries of nature and of life. After the early years of the nineteenth century had given way to the third and fourth decades old issues revived in the Tracts of the Oxford party in the English Church, and following soon came the brave writings of the Broad Church

party leaders, Maurice, Kingsley and Robertson. Contemporary in America were the liberal polemics of Theodore Parker among the Unitarians, the constructive theology of Horace Bushnell, and the conservative contentions of the New England and Princeton theologians. There was much polemical writing between Baptists and Pedo-Baptists, liberals and reactionaries, ritualists and nonconformists. Critics wrote about the Bible and the Christian religion under the stress of scientific research and archæological discovery, and some of their conclusions were very disturbing to devout persons in the churches. Others there were, neither critical nor apologetic, who sounded the depths of their spiritual experience or wrote of the joy and peace of Christian living in tune with heaven.

The religious organizations produced a religious literature of their own. Every denomination had its publishing house, which was issuing much pamphlet and leaflet literature of a religious character, and putting out an increasing supply of religious fiction for Sunday school libraries. Most denominations issued their own hymnals for congregational use and their own particular devotional type of literature, such as the prayers of the Episcopal Church. A distinct class of denominational literature was in the religious periodicals. As long ago as the time of the Great Awakening in New England the first American periodical was issued under the title of *The Christian History*. It was published weekly for two years in Boston, specializing in accounts of the growth of religious interest in America and England. The *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* had a career of ten years after 1800, and in 1803 the Baptists of Massachusetts started a missionary magazine, which under several different names remained the organ of the missionary enterprise. The Congregationalists started a similar magazine about the same time.

The second decade of the nineteenth century produced the beginning of a series of denominational weeklies, some of which have continued since that time. *The Congregationalist*, *The Watchman*, and *Zion's Herald* in Boston; *The Observer*, *The Examiner*, and the *Christian Advocate* in New York, followed each other in rapid succession. They contained a modicum of news with articles on phases of religion, interesting to those who spent much time in reading and meditation, but of small concern to the general reader. As churches multiplied in other parts of the country sectional or state papers came into existence, some of them with controversial intent, as when John M. Peck, a home missionary in Illinois, started

a Baptist paper to counteract the influence of the Disciples. Several attempts were made to establish learned reviews, of which *Bibliotheca Sacra*, the *Princeton Review*, and the *Methodist Review* are reminders, but it was difficult to secure public support in America.

In England the century gave birth to similar attempts, of which *The British Weekly* and the *Hibbert Journal* are extant examples. On the Continent German presses were prolific of scholarly productions from the pens of university professors and others, and a few papers of general interest, like *Christliche Welt*, had foreign circulation.

The line between the sacred and the secular which had been drawn by the ancient Catholics when they separated the clergy from the laity and the bread of the mass from the material element, was as plainly marked by the Puritan when he contrasted the evil of earth with the good of heaven, distinguished between the minority of the elect and the majority of the reprobate, and set apart Sunday as a holy day and consigned the rest of the week to worldly affairs. Literature was classified as sacred and secular, history as sacred and profane. To the Puritan fiction was not permissible for reading, but later a distinction was made between religious fiction and secular. But in the nineteenth century the wall of partition was broken down. The sacred and the secular intermingled in life, and literature reflected human life. The skeptical spirit breathed in the poetry of Alfred Tennyson and in the prose writing of George Eliot and Mrs. Humphrey Ward, yet moral insight shines through the imperfection of the characters which the authors created. Men who were not writing on religion directly caught visions of the sun shining through the clouds of sorrow and suffering and mystery, as when Browning in *Saul* makes the reader see how God loves a man as David loved his king. The insight of imagination reënforced the convictions of the intellect regarding the eternal problems of the divine and the human.

Nor was religious education confined to literature. The musician felt the throb of religious passion and yearning, and expressed his emotion in choral and symphony and oratorio, which have been repeated again and again in the hearts of throngs of people worshipping in the churches. Bach and Beethoven, Handel and Haydn and others of lesser fame, have a place in the history of the Christian people of modern times. Art lent itself to religious ideals. Church architecture, lacking much in Puritan countries, improved in quality even there, while in the Old World earlier models lost nothing of

value. Modern painting, inclined as it has been to exploit the pagan, has had its religious *motif*, and has helped to an understanding of spiritual values. The symbolism of ritualistic worship and of the sacrament increasingly became a religious asset in America, while it was emphasized in England, especially by the Anglo-Catholics.

GROWING INTEREST IN HUMANITARIANISM

The more religion was made a thing of the spirit and the mind the less important seemed the external aspect of life. To reform or revolutionize society was far less important to most church people than to evangelize souls or to test beliefs. But there were exceptional men. Ralph Waldo Emerson was preëminently a thinker, but he was too much of an iconoclast to travel in harness with other minds and he cried out with a message for men to rise to higher deeds. Carlyle criticized his times in Britain and challenged men to right human wrongs. Whittier and Lowell, Channing and Beecher, were men of thought but more especially prophets of humanitarianism. Tennyson wrote *In Memoriam* but also *Locksley Hall*. Kingsley composed *Hypatia* and *Alton Locke*. Wordsworth caught *Intimations of Immortality*, but he was so interested in human welfare that he rejoiced at the news of the outbreak of the French Revolution. These are all instances of the union of the intellectual and humanitarian interests.

The emergence of a compelling interest in human welfare is one of the striking characteristics of the early nineteenth century. The humanitarian impulse was felt far earlier. It mastered the minds of philosophers like Voltaire and Rousseau and of emancipators like Granville Sharp, William Wilberforce and John Howard. It appeared in the Catholic Church in such organizations as the St. Vincent de Paul Society and the various orders of Sisters of Charity. It created a multitude of relief agencies animated if not led by the Christian Church. Certain minds reacted so strongly against social evils that they became leaders of revolution. It was an open question for more than a century whether the goal of human welfare could be reached except by scrapping the old social machine and creating something else to take its place.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

As the eighteenth century drew toward its close it was apparent that the rights of the people must be vindicated on the Continent as they had been in England in the Puritan Revolution and in Amer-

ica in the Revolutionary War. Nations had grown powerful, but autocratic monarchs neither understood nor sympathized with the people's wrongs. The churches, whether Catholic or Protestant, were too self-centered to visualize their responsibilities. The common people did not know that the spirit of Christianity was the spirit of brotherly love, and they distrusted the Church as they distrusted the State. Distrust in France deepened into hate in those who gave the matter most thought. The picture which Taine draws in his *Ancient Régime* is a gloomy one. Class privilege and monopoly characterized the élite, misery and oppression the peasants and the proletariat. The theories of the French philosopher were often unsound, but the suffering of the people was real and their instinct correct. Only revolution could bring them relief. In 1789 they sacked the Bastille in Paris and the bloody Revolution was begun.

The people had thinkers to voice their aspirations. They were insistent on intellectual freedom for themselves and for others, on the right of the people to make social agreements which might alter the political and ecclesiastical status, and on the principle that every social institution should exist with a purpose to lift up the lower classes physically, intellectually and morally. These three principles formed the platform of the Encyclopedists, and the Encyclopedists furnished brains to the Revolution. But the people soon got out of hand. Ardent and impulsive they entered the struggle for freedom as a crusade against the twin foes of the State and the Church. Radical leaders lost sight of principles in their desire for vengeance on their oppressors and gain for themselves. The French Revolution burned itself out in the reign of terror, and Napoleon first and then the Bourbon monarchy restored class and privilege, but two permanent results came out of it. One was the abolition of feudalism and the inauguration of the Code Napoleon, the other the impulse that was given to social reform, which in spite of reaction brought about much social emancipation before the nineteenth century was over. The attack upon the Church resulted in the temporary abdication of religion, but Napoleon made a concordat with the pope by which the Church in France was reconstituted. The attack upon the monarchy brought to the front the principles of liberty, fraternity and democracy, and though their realization was delayed the revolutionists had shown that they could break down barriers if they were driven to desperation.

HUMANITARIANISM IN ENGLAND

The French Revolution called attention to social misery in other countries besides France. Its sudden impact broke shackles here and there, and the rush of Napoleon's armies made it possible to force changes on foreign nations. But with the fall of Napoleon the old order was restored as far as possible. It was in England and America that the humanitarian spirit found greatest opportunity to breathe. Christian people who were conscious of social wrongs gave particular attention in England to poverty, intemperance, slavery and industrial ills. In America these evils were not so early or so acute.

The English people had advanced socially beyond the peoples of the Continent. Methodism had carried religion to the working people. Wesley had tried industrial experiments on a small scale and had been active in philanthropy. But agricultural conditions kept the rural people poor and the lack of schools kept them ignorant and stolid. The mechanical revolution in industry so altered working conditions that the people found it hard to readjust themselves. Once in poverty they were burdened with debt and debtors were commonly punished by imprisonment in foul prisons. Slavery in the British Empire was a national disgrace. It was the thought of these things that aroused the reformers. John Howard tried tirelessly to improve prison conditions, and when he had secured better prison conditions in England he went to the Continent and died there as a result of his persistent endeavor. Wilberforce, reënforcing the arguments of other pioneers, declaimed in Parliament against the slave system until he secured the abolition of slavery throughout the Empire. Wilberforce belonged to a company of men and women in the Church of England who liked the emphasis of Methodism but never left the old Church. They were known as evangelicals. It was they who organized the Church Missionary Society and Bible and tract societies, and who took the lead in social reform. Lord Shaftesbury belonged to the same social élite, and it was he who pioneered for factory reform. The revival of religion had stirred the consciences of these people, and for that reason social reform has a place in the religious history of the period.

A few Dissenters joined with the evangelicals in trying to secure a better observance of Sunday and checks on gambling. Parliament was urged to reform education by 1833 and it was making grants to provide educational associations, and by 1870 to introduce a plan of public schools. Taxes were removed from the newspapers and a

freer public press was encouraged. Poor relief was attempted and temperance reform projected. The drink problem was one of the most serious evils of the country. The consumption of distilled spirits increased more than threefold within a generation. The principal effort of the temperance advocates was to check this by the use of cider, beer and wine. About 1840 the more drastic total abstinence movement started, and thousands of persons were induced to sign a pledge to abstain altogether from the use of intoxicating liquors. Father Mathew, a Catholic priest, was the evangelist of the movement, urged on by a Quaker friend.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM AND THE BROAD CHURCH

The decade from 1840 to 1850 was notable for social experiments. The preceding decade had produced legislation, but the workingman was not satisfied. Utopian schemes were worked out, especially by Robert Owen, a wealthy manufacturer, who tried to introduce the coöperative principle into production and when he failed in England tried again in America. At Rochdale a few unemployed weavers pooled their money and started consumers' coöperation with remarkable results. Karl Marx, a German thinker, while resident in England, worked out the theories of scientific socialism and published them in *Das Kapital*. Many persons believed with him that social misery was due to economic exploitation, and wished to give the tools of industry to the workers and to make the principle of collectivism regnant in society instead of the principle of individual competition. Marx believed that the Church was the friend and defender of the capitalist, and the socialists who accepted him as leader were unfriendly to organized Christianity.

It was Maurice, a London minister and theologian, and Kingsley, a country rector, who found a way to combine religion with enough of socialism to give them the name of Christian Socialists. They sympathized with the Chartist movement, which was intended to extend the privileges of the Reform Bill of 1832 to the workingmen, though Maurice and Kingsley could not go the full length of the Chartist demands. They accomplished little permanently, but they showed that there were leaders in the Church who took to heart the needs of the working people. Maurice and Kingsley were successors of the evangelicals in their social mood and representatives of a Broad Church phase of Anglicanism, which was characterized by liberal thinking as well as social sympathy. It contributed to the

literature of the social movement, showed its interest in public questions of the day, and provided an impulse which found later expression in social settlements and summer schools and philanthropic undertakings of various sorts.

VARIOUS SOCIAL EXPERIMENTS

Others, both Anglicans and Dissenters, who in no sense would call themselves socialists, were friendly to those who were struggling for social recognition and a better living. Robert Hall, an eminent Baptist preacher, championed the cause of the trade unions when they were unpopular. John Bright, a religious Independent, was champion of the extension of the suffrage to the working folk. The Primitive Methodists, who separated from the parent body in 1808, found their opportunity for service among the morally degraded miners, the factory hands, and the fishermen along shore. Nasmith started city missions in Glasgow, a method which spread to London and to the Continent, and to the United States. City missionaries reached homes where pastors of churches could not go, and by prayer, Bible reading, and helpful conversation stimulated the growth of character. Thomas Chalmers, the Presbyterian insurgent of Glasgow, worked out a modern method for dealing with the poor so that public doles would not pauperize them, an experiment which became the basis for modern methods of scientific charity.

Members of the High Church party of Anglican clergy organized the Guild of St. Matthew in 1877 and a Christian Social Union in 1889. These organizations had political, educational and religious features, but they were particularly for the study of social problems and their solution. They were an indication of the trend of religious thought, an evidence that the Protestant emphasis on individual salvation must not obscure the social side of church obligation. Presently St. Jude's Church in the heart of London with Samuel Barnett as its rector, was undertaking a social ministry to the metropolis, and indicating the methods which institutional churches were to try out in many city churches. Besides religious services on Sunday a variety of services were rendered on week days by the paid staff and voluntary workers connected with the church. In the field of charity, education, recreation, and industrial relations the Church found abundant opportunity and it related itself to the social settlement. Toynbee Hall was the first settlement to be attempted. Supported by Oxford men, Edward Denison had made the first attempts to provide

an oasis in the desert of downtown London where the high and the lowly, the prosperous and the miserable, might meet and mutually profit. The settlement, both in England and America, seldom had close religious affiliations, but it was inspired by the Christian spirit and manned as a rule by members of churches. Among the volunteer organizations of the same period, about 1880, was the Church Army of the Anglicans, which trained evangelists and nurses and maintained evangelistic and social enterprises under the direction of the parish clergy in hundreds of parishes; and the London Congregational Union which proclaimed the social need in a tract entitled *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, and aroused churches, newspapers, and universities to new social activity.

SOCIAL REFORM IN THE UNITED STATES

Humanitarianism took two forms, amelioration of misery by relief measures and an attempt to eradicate the roots of the evils. Christian sympathy quickly prompted charity, and those who like the Quakers were especially sensitive to suffering and injustice, were active in societies for the improvement of seamen, for the suppression of intemperance, and for the employment of the poor. Few in the first part of the nineteenth century saw that social reconstruction was in part necessary. They did not sense the evil of slavery, for example, sufficiently to realize that the slave system must go.

America had inherited from Great Britain antiquated methods of punishment and prison administration. Debtors were confined in prisons not fit for stables. Quakers took the lead in reform in Pennsylvania, and obtained a better legal code from the state legislature, and other states soon adopted improvements. Religion was carried into the prisons and methods of education were introduced. Later in the century Maud Ballington Booth, of the Volunteers of America, evangelized among the convicts of the American penitentiaries and formed a prison league of her converts, which was a means of moral strength to the men when they were released. The American Prison Association united citizens who were especially interested in prison reform. Crime and vice were often directly due to intemperance. The use of liquor was considered essential to all social occasions, even among the clergy. The agitation against it gained headway very slowly. But Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia published the physical effects of intemperance, Lyman Beecher of Connecticut preached six widely read sermons against it, associations were organ-

ized first for temperance and then for total abstinence, the women formed their Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1874, in which Frances Willard was the able leader, and in 1895 the Anti-Saloon League was created as an agent of the churches to rid the country of the chief foe to sobriety. A Prohibition political party had not been successful in getting votes, but after most of the nation had become locally dry the advocates of temperance were able to secure the adoption of a prohibitory amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which with a congressional law of enforcement was expected to carry through temperance reform to a successful conclusion.

The crying evil of the age was negro slavery. Hoary as an Old World custom, it had been foisted upon American planters by conscienceless traders when labor was scarce, had become entrenched in the South when the cotton industry became profitable, and had become a political and at last a sectional issue which threatened American peace and unity. The Quakers were no fighters, but they aided many slaves to make good their escape from hard masters. Slowly certain of the church people of the North came to believe that they could no longer coöperate with slaveholders, and the denominational organizations of Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians split apart. Southern ministers stoutly justified the system on which economic prosperity seemed to rest, and the Southern people resented the charge of criminality hurled against them by anti-slavery radicals like William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was read everywhere and added fuel to the flames. It was in that spirit of sectional antagonism that the Civil War began in 1861 as a war for the preservation of the Union against the secession of the slaveholding states and developed into a conflict for the emancipation of the slaves. The churches provided chaplains for the armies on both sides. Christian and Sanitary Commissions were formed in the North at the instigation of the clergy for the comfort of the troops. People prayed for victory on both sides with equal conviction of the righteousness of their cause. It was a tragedy for religion as well as for society. But the end came with a victory for the Union and the enforcement of the Emancipation Proclamation which President Abraham Lincoln had issued in 1863. Lincoln suffered in life and in death for the sins of the nation. Bitter passions delayed the reconstruction of the South. But the surgical operation was success-

ful in ridding the nation of a deep-seated evil, and none were more appreciative of the gain when passions were calmed than those who had fought for the preservation of the anachronism.

THE NEGROES

The emancipation of the Southern negroes precipitated a social problem of great difficulty. Illiterate and lacking initiative, they could do little to help themselves and the bankrupt states could give them but small aid. Elementary schools for children might be hoped for when society had recovered its footing, but the race needed trained leadership above everything else. Normal, industrial, and professional schools were all required. The colored people were emotionally religious. The Southern whites had enslaved the negro, but also had civilized and Christianized him. Negroes had worshiped in the galleries of the white churches. They had had their own negro exhorters on the plantations, but they were undependable interpreters of religion. The race needed religious and moral instruction. The conscience of the North, so keenly aware of the evils of the slave system, felt a responsibility to uplift the race which it had freed. Home mission schools for the negro were started at favorable points in the Southern states, and Northern teachers went South to give instruction to the negroes who attended. Sectional feeling was still strong, and it was easy to interpret the enterprise as an attempt to encourage the self-assertion of the negro or to patronize a section of the country which was unable to take care of its own people adequately. Northern and Southern Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians had divided before the war; Northern negro schools did not make any better feeling between the groups. But slowly the schools made good and kept at their task, until they gained wider recognition for their helpfulness.

Meantime the negroes had organized their own churches and even denominations after the pattern of the white people. They undertook similar enterprises in missions, education and philanthropy. The number of educated, ambitious leaders increased. Mistakes were made. Certain individuals were eager to gain social equality with the white people, and prized professional education as a means to that end. This tendency was counteracted by Booker T. Washington and his remarkable industrial plant at Tuskegee, Alabama, where principles of thrift and enlightened methods in agriculture and handicrafts were inculcated and graduates went out to reform the

customs of their people. Remarkable progress by the race as a whole marked the fifty years following emancipation.

SOCIAL SCIENCE AND SERVICE

Social issues coupled with the study of social institutions led to an interest in the scientific study of social life. As the physical sciences had forged to the front in intellectual circles before the Civil War, so in the last part of the nineteenth century the social sciences attracted attention. History and economics found a prominent place in the college curriculum. Sociology, which had been formulated by Auguste Comte and amplified by others, became popular and was confused by some with the principles of socialism. Recognition was given to certain forces and certain laws of society in the study of human conduct. Social ethics began to seem more important than the individual virtues. Presently leaders in the churches were perceiving that there were values in social science for humanitarians, and denominations were appointing social service commissions to study conditions and theories. Modern industry was a subject of special concern. Ministers like Washington Gladden and Josiah Strong and Lyman Abbott were pointing out the dangers to America from the social antagonism between capital and labor, from the surging crowds of immigrants coming into American ports, from the poverty and squalor of city slums, and from the rapid growth of a wealthy class, though it had to be admitted that an unprecedented generosity was a characteristic of many of the rich. Experiments initiated in Great Britain were given further trial in America. Organizations of various sorts and with various names banded together those who were alive to human need. The social principles of Jesus were studied. Walter Rauschenbusch stirred those who would listen to him with his *Christianity and the Social Crisis*. The open forum was inaugurated at Cooper Union in New York, and was adopted everywhere as a clearing house of opinion and a safety valve for discontent. The social changes that were taking place with the rapid growth of the cities and the incoming of the foreigners compelled churches to socialize their thinking and to change their methods, especially in the downtown sections. Depletion of rural areas because of cityward migration created an acute problem for the rural churches. The increasing contacts between nations and the disaster of the World War compelled attention to the problems of international relations and reënfirmed the long-felt desire for a

means of abolishing war. The churches generally were favorable to the participation of the United States in the League of Nations. Social service was a phrase often on the lips, and not a few persons preferred it as an equivalent to religion. In 1912 the Federal Council of Churches adopted a Social Creed, and Catholics followed the Protestant example in organizing a Catholic Welfare Council. Whatever else the social emphasis achieved, it stressed the importance of the present social order on earth rather than the future welfare of human beings in another world, gave a needed spur to the consideration of social obligation, and popularized the study of the principles that underlie permanent social improvement. Church people who looked for the prompt return of Christ to reconstruct the cosmic situation had little sympathy with efforts at social betterment, and some thought that religion was becoming secularized, but though the movement in the churches lost its impetus in the general reaction that followed the World War, it did not lose its value or the devotion of its friends.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. Sketch the development of the Sunday school.
2. Outline the changes in the method of theological education.
3. How has religion been related to the American colleges?
4. In what ways has literature promoted religion? Evaluate religious newspapers.
5. How have music and art interpreted religion?
6. Who were some of the prophets of social reform in England and America?
7. Tell the story of the abolition of slavery in England and America.
8. Account for the Christian Socialists in Great Britain. Were they really socialists?
9. In what respects have the principles of social effort changed? the methods?
10. What progress has come to the Negroes in America?

For class discussion or debate

1. Which has been the more effective means of cultivating religion, the Sunday school or the revival?
2. Resolved, that the Church has failed of its duty to take the lead in social reforms.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral reports

1. The experiments of Robert Raikes.
2. The original Chautauqua.

3. John Howard, prison reformer.
4. Tuskegee Institute.

For longer written essays

1. Theological education in colonial America.
2. Pioneer religious periodicals in the nineteenth century.
3. Religious effects of the French Revolution.
4. Christian socialism in Great Britain.
5. The Quaker attitude toward slavery.
6. The social creed of the American churches.

For conference and examination

1. The historic attitude of the Church toward slavery, ancient and modern.

For maps and tables

1. On a map of the United States locate the denominational colleges and theological schools of a single denomination.
2. Make a list of ten denominational weeklies.

READING REFERENCES

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Secondary Guides

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 ——— Sunday School Movements in America
 THWING. A History of Higher Education in America
 DORCHESTER. Christianity in the United States
 HALL. Social Meaning of Modern Religious Movements in England
 GIBBIN. English Social Reformers
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 HENDERSON. Social Programs in the West
 STEAD. Story of Social Christianity
 PUTNAM. The Churches and Slavery
 BRAWLEY. Social History of the American Negro
 MATHEWS. The French Revolution
 PHILLIPS. American Negro Slavery
 VINCENT. The Chautauqua Movement

CHAPTER XXVI

THE IMPACT OF MODERN THOUGHT

THE STREAM OF LIBERAL THOUGHT

EVERY great movement of thought, like the sweep of the sea upon the shore, is retarded by the inert mass against which it beats, yet certain waves run higher up on the beach than the breaking sea as a whole. It was so with the Protestant Reformation. The movement as a whole reached no farther than the assertion of the principle of saving faith, and it was held back by the conservatism that could not escape the influence of Catholicism. But a few persons impatient of restraint went farther than Lutherans, Calvinists or Anglicans, and insisted on a rational basis for faith, because man was competent to think through his religious problems. Socinianism caught the humanistic spirit of the Renaissance in Italy and Poland, drew to itself some of those who were dissatisfied with the Reformation in Germany, and indoctrinated Holland with the belief that man had power to work out his own salvation. Arminianism was not a child of Socinianism and in most respects was fully orthodox, but it stood for a similar principle of human capacity. In England the humanistic emphasis appeared in the Anglican Church in Arminianism and Arianism as well as deism, but its truest example was Unitarianism.

The primary concept of the Unitarian was the worth of man and his ability to establish right relations with God without election or atonement. Calvinism had so overstressed the meanness and helplessness of man that there was room for a humanistic movement which carried with it even the essential humanity of Christ, but Unitarianism never became popular. The first spokesman of English Unitarianism who gained much of a following was Joseph Priestley, who though a famous scientist wrote voluminously on religion and gave a permanence to the Unitarian movement. But the chief prophet in England was James Martineau, preacher and philosopher of the nineteenth century, who revolted from a purely scientific view of the universe which led to a materialistic philosophy, and insisted that

God is present in the moral consciousness of man, which is able to interpret to man his duty when seconded by the revealing personality of the human Jesus. In a late volume on *The Seat of Authority in Religion* Martineau maintained that it was the human soul that was the judge and not an external autocrat of Church or Scripture.

UNITARIANS IN AMERICA

In America the Edwardean theologians of the New England school had to meet the opposition of the Old Calvinists on the conservative side and of certain progressive thinkers on the liberal side. The liberal opposition centered in Boston and vicinity where Congregational ministers either hesitated to approve revivalism or actively opposed it. Charles Chauncy in particular wrote in criticism of the revival at Northampton and favored Universalist opinions. Among Congregational intellectuals there was a feeling that Calvinism was not a true explanation of the nature of man and his relation to God, and the Unitarian doctrine of the humanity of Jesus made its appeal. They were not ready to abandon such a doctrine as the inspiration of Scripture and they accepted Christ as a Savior but without the orthodox shibboleths. Local ministers and churches were reluctant to take the name Unitarian and to break with their Trinitarian friends, but the drift was unmistakable and one after another of the churches declared itself Unitarian. This was an easy process because every Congregational church was independent of overhead control and could do as a majority of its members decided. In 1805 an avowed Unitarian minister was appointed professor of theology at Harvard College. In eastern Massachusetts the movement went on until more than one hundred churches were lost to the Trinitarian Congregationalists. Wealth and culture were on the side of the Unitarians. The courts gave a majority of the members of the parish the right to church property even if a majority of the actual members of the church opposed them. The decision resulted in a loss of more than half a million dollars to orthodoxy.

The principal exponent of Unitarianism in America was William Ellery Channing. He gave form to Unitarian thought in a sermon in 1819, and became the recognized leader during the next twenty-five years. He maintained the doctrine of the dignity and worth of man as over against the Calvinistic contention of total depravity since Adam. He recognized Christ, as in a very real sense a Savior, but he believed in the ability of man to work out his own salvation through

cultivation of the best that is in him. The Unitarians believed in the doctrine of divine immanence, especially dear to Emerson. Channing was a prophet of human freedom as a corollary of his humanism. He was enthusiastic over the contemporary revolutions in Europe, and he became the eloquent champion of the negro slave. He pleaded for independence in religious thinking, for reform in human relations, especially for international peace. His influence spread beyond his own denomination, though the orthodox abhorred his Unitarianism, and whatever one's creed, men believed more generally in freedom and brotherhood and human worth because Channing lived.

Unitarianism did not stand still. Beginning as an attitude of protest against an outgrown Calvinism, with little that was positive and without a message of deliverance to a world in sin, it did not get a grip on popular fancy and to many it seemed too negative. Theodore Parker imparted to it a dynamic with his radicalism which swept a liberal party among the Unitarians far from their earlier moorings. He naturalized religion completely, discarded miracles and Biblical authority, asserted the simple humanity of Jesus, and appealed solely to experience to show him what was true. His theology made him distrusted, but his warm sympathy and love of humanity endeared him to many.

In 1825 both English and American Unitarians organized themselves into associations, but they retained local independence of their congregations and exhibited a tendency to be very independent in thought and practice. Unitarianism attracted liberals who got out of step in other denominations, and its ministry was recruited chiefly in that way. Unitarians became prominent in philanthropy and a number of the leading literary folk of the time were akin to them in thought if not in membership. Their influence in liberalizing religion was strong, and they have retained a place as pioneers of modernism disproportionate to their actual numbers.

THE OLD THEOLOGY

Protestant theology came to the nineteenth century with little change from the sixteenth. It had inherited from Catholicism the idea of a transcendent God, existing in a trinity of personality. It had continued to emphasize the dread qualities of His nature, His hatred of sin, His inexorable justice, and the certainty of punishment in a life beyond this. The theologians had worked out an

explanation of the divine plan of salvation, by which Christ through his death on the Cross had made atonement for the sin of mankind, which had been fastened upon the race since the original sin of Adam. The theory of the atonement had been modified several times, but it was based still on the belief in a vengeful God Who needed to be propitiated. The Protestant theology differed from the Catholic in making personal faith in the atonement take the place of the ministry of the Church and its sacraments, but the efficacy of faith was only for that minority which God elected.

The place occupied by the Bible as an inerrant authority for faith and conduct was unshaken. Its evidence for the fact of miracle was sufficient. Its messianic prophecy accounted for the events of the life of Jesus. Its imprecatory psalms voiced the righteous indignation of those who could not bring themselves to use profanity, though some Christians found it difficult to reconcile the spirit of such psalms with that of the gospel of the New Testament. The book of Revelation, interpreted with the aid of Daniel, permitted a variety of interpretations of the future life which man might expect, with the principal difference of opinion on the question whether Jesus would come before or after the millennium.

The Church was looked upon as an ark of safety by those evangelicals who were members of it. It was their duty to sustain its organization and to carry its gospel to the unconverted people on the outside that they might flee from the wrath to come and find safety in the fold. Baptism was the door of entrance to the Church, the Lord's Supper a memorial of Christ's death and a means of spiritual nourishment. Virtue was required as an ideal of life, and discipline visited the guilty, especially for breaking certain taboos.

AN AGE OF CRITICISM

This evangelical theology was incorporated into articles of faith in local churches as well as in the creeds and the confessions of denominations. Church members were expected to keep their faith unsullied from any smirch of heresy. Ministers were examined carefully by councils and presbyteries at the time of their ordination, and any departure from the standards of orthodoxy was criticized promptly and sharply. The rank and file of church members did not read widely enough to catch the drift of theological thought in more liberal circles. They took their theology from the minister, the Bible, and their denominational journal; none of these reflected changing

opinions, unless to condemn them. Traditional theology seemed likely to keep its hold indefinitely.

But the nineteenth century was freighted with skepticism. Old standards were breaking down in government, as democracy began to replace absolutism. French infidelity had not lost all its influence, nor had the spirit of rationalism died under the criticism of Immanuel Kant. As the century advanced discoveries in science upset accepted ideas as seriously as the earlier discoveries of Copernicus and Galileo. Critical study of the Bible was disturbing the complacency of Christian thinkers who had rested on its infallibility. And philosophers were working over their theories to add to the confusion. The increasing tendency to criticize old theological standards came first from persons outside evangelical circles, but ministers who kept in touch at all with current thought could not escape its influence, and in time criticism made its way into theological circles inside the churches. Theology was challenged to square itself with changing convictions in other fields of thought, and it was a grave question what the effect would be upon the faith of the Christian people. It was certain, judging from the traditional attitude of orthodoxy, that the churches would contest every inch of ground against the innovators in the field of theology. But the critic undertook to strip religion of its approved theological garb, to simplify the meaning of religion itself, and to fit it into a modern world-view.

SCIENCE AS A CRITIC

Criticism was not all scientific, but science supplied the method for much of the criticism. Hitherto theology and metaphysics had had a monopoly of explaining the world order, using deductive methods of reasoning on the basis of old traditions and beliefs. Now a mass of scientific material was supplying data which made possible something else than abstract reasoning. On the basis of observation and experiment the scientists were drawing conclusions inductively. They were ranging everywhere for facts, classifying them and reflecting upon them, building hypotheses and without hesitation overthrowing hoary conceptions of truth. The scientific method was empirical. It was easy to think that only by this method could all knowledge come, easy to think that the intangible and the spiritual were unreal because they could not be weighed and measured. But science was getting astounding results and applying its findings to the practical needs of business and society.

Astronomers had been the first to disturb the serenity of the Christian mind, when Copernicus and Galileo suggested their explanations of the universe. But in the nineteenth century geology and physics and biology were to devastate the regions of faith. Geologists discovered fossils and explained them, measured the strata of the rocks and determined their age, and traced evidences of a long process of terrestrial creation. They upset established chronological calculations as to the length of the world's history, and declared that the order of creation was not the same as that recorded in the book of Genesis. Anthropologists discovered the remains of prehistoric men, and with them evidences of the slow development of culture which required hundreds of centuries instead of the short period allowed by the Hebrew Scriptures. The scientist believed that man had been slowly climbing upward from the beast, and that what the theologian called sin was only his animal nature asserting itself. Such contradiction of the hoary belief in the fall of Adam and the hereditary taint of the human race was condemned unreservedly by ecclesiastical authority, but criticism remained to cast suspicion upon theology.

In another field, that of physics, it was being discovered that motion rather than fixity was the rule of nature. Some knowledge had existed of light and electricity, but the knowledge needed to be coördinated and put in relation to other known sciences. Light waves and electric currents were mapped out. Out of the investigations came the kinetic theory. Michael Faraday, the brilliant Britisher, claimed that ether was the medium in which the physical elements played their part and that they were centers of energy rather than of matter. The dynamic idea was replacing the static in nature. In the field of biology this dynamic idea, of change, of development, found expression in the theory of evolution, that life unfolded from its germs through the power of resident forces. The theory was suggested by Hutton and Lyell in geology and by Buffon and Lamarck in biology. At the middle of the nineteenth century Herbert Spencer adopted the evolutionary idea as applicable to human history and institutions as well as to lower forms of animal life. It was not yet clear by what means the process of evolution was accomplished.

THE EVOLUTIONARY IDEA AND ITS REACTIONS

Almost simultaneously Charles Darwin and Alfred Russell Wallace announced a hypothesis which seemed to experts a satisfactory

explanation of the process of natural evolution. With abundant data as evidence Darwin explained in the *Origin of Species*, published in 1859, that all forms of life are akin, that the origin of separate species came about by variations from a normal type which Nature selected and perpetuated, and that the maintenance of life was possible only by constant struggle for existence and the destruction of that which was not fitted to survive existing conditions. Darwin soon followed his first book with a second entitled the *Descent of Man*, in which he traced the genealogy of man from single-celled animals by the same process of evolution. The interpretations of Darwin were accepted generally by scientific men, but the theory of slight variations did not seem sufficient to explain the remarkable changes that had eventuated. Hugo de Vries, a Dutch biologist, suggested that occasionally more decided variations occur, which he called mutations, and that thus the introduction of new organs and characters could be explained best. Nature selects these mutations, like the lesser variations, and transmits them to posterity through the germ plasm.

To the majority of Christian people both explanations seemed revolutionary. The whole idea of a process which made no provision for the directing hand of the Creator, at least for no further participation in the process after starting it in motion, was most unsatisfactory. A struggle for existence which destroyed multitudes in the process and left to survive those who were best fitted to existing but not necessarily to ideal conditions, seemed far from Christian. It was almost as bad for science to declare a close relationship between man and the ape, though the scientist was careful to say that they were not in the same direct line of descent.

A particularly unfortunate consequence of Darwin's doctrine of the struggle for existence and the survival of the strongest, as it was interpreted frequently, was the application of the idea to social evolution, and therefore a justification of the use of force as an arbiter in international questions. German philosophers like Nietzsche were aggressive champions of that theory. Similarly it was easy to justify ruthless competition in business in the same way. Progress seemed to mean the victory of the man or the nation with the most resistless drive, and life to be an arena where the weak very properly went under. It was desirable, as soon happened, that apologists for a less ruthless philosophy should be heard. Kropotkin showed that mutual aid in the animal world is as real a factor as competition, and Henry Drummond, professor in the Free Church College in Glasgow, elabo-

rated the idea in *The Ascent of Man*, a book in which he showed how individuals strive in behalf of others and offer themselves vicariously, like a mother bird for her young, and how Nature has selected such as were most worthy to survive. Later the same principle was applied to human groups, and it was demonstrated that the doctrine of brute force is both destructive and unscientific.

The ramifications of the evolutionary principle were felt widely. Thomas Huxley was a leading champion of the theory of evolution and a caustic critic of Christian theology. History was revised on the principle of evolution, including the history of religion. The Bible was explained as the story of the progressive development of the Hebrew people. Some enthusiasts made evolution take the place of God. Others confused the fact of evolution with the means by which evolution works, failing to distinguish between the principle of development and the hypothesis of Darwin. Slowly minds became untangled, and saner opinions replaced extravagant claims. It became clear that if evolution was true it was but one of many laws of nature, or better still of nature's God, and that it might be accepted as a useful working hypothesis for an explanation of things that were not yet clearly understood without loss of loyalty to the Divine Worker and to the spiritual nature of man. Then too if evolution was correct there was always present the possibility of degeneration, which was not incompatible with the belief in sin and the presence in man of tendencies to evil. Men reminded themselves that if evolution meant a real upward march through the action of resident forces within the individual organism or the social group, it was in harmony with the Christian idea of an immanent, continually creating God. So evolution became to many people the instrument through which God works.

In such ways open-minded persons became receptive to the new ideas, adjusting their theological concepts to the accepted conclusions of science without surrendering their faith in the spiritual realities which lay back of natural phenomena. They were helped to make their adjustments by men like Drummond in Great Britain and Lyman Abbott and Washington Gladden in America. Less liberal persons refused to admit that theological changes were necessary. They relied on the word of the Bible as it read for the truth about the creation of the world and its life, and they resented the attacks upon the old beliefs. It seemed to them that scientific thinking, like Unitarianism, had no gospel for men in sin. In the religious press and on the

public platform orthodox leaders defended the theology of the fathers and were severe toward people in the ranks of the churches who accepted as valid any theory of evolution. If scientists were intolerant of old ways of thinking, many church people were intolerant of the new. Both iconoclasts and obscurantists made the mistake of thinking that they had a monopoly of understanding, failing to distinguish between knowledge of facts about material phenomena gained through the senses and knowledge of spiritual reality acquired through human consciousness. Each needed to study philosophical theories of knowledge.

HISTORICAL CRITICISM

The scientific spirit and method, which changed so much the conceptions that were held about nature, were applicable to other areas of learning. The historical spirit and method are closely akin. The historian employs the same principles of investigation, depends on a sifting process according to certain accepted canons of criticism, and tries to arrive at conclusions that are based on evidence rather than on tradition or the authority of a church or a book. The principles of historical criticism which were worked out and applied to religious as well as secular history were, first, that human events occur in the midst of a physical and social environment, and any institution, even the Christian Church, must be studied as a product of environment; second, that cause and sequence are always present in a social process, and history therefore is to be regarded as genetic; third, that similar conditions produce similar results, and causes and sequences have worked in the past as they do now.

Historical criticism had its home in Germany. It was the outgrowth of German rationalism, which appeared as an intellectual movement in the universities where the clergy were trained and then in church circles. In England the deistic attacks did little harm to church circles and in France rationalists like Voltaire attacked a Catholic Church that was impervious to criticism. But German rationalism was a movement from within, and it affected the state religion far more than elsewhere. The marks of rationalism were the rejection of tradition and authority and a critical attitude toward the Bible and traditional history. The German rationalists took pride in their enlightenment and their intellectual processes. They admitted a natural religion, as did the English deists, but deemed a religion of revelation unnecessary and unreliable.

The rationalism of Germany was partly philosophical and partly popular. The philosophy of Descartes and Spinoza had followers in Germany, but the country had its own philosophers in Leibnitz and Wolff. Leibnitz has been compared to Aristotle as a master mind. Both Leibnitz and Wolff vouched for the innate powers of man's mind, and it was Wolff who popularized rationalism in Germany. He was convinced that a valid religion must be able to meet the test of mathematical precision. Every miracle, every mystery was subjected to the white light of the Illumination, as the rational thought of the period was called. From the testing of doctrine by philosophy the rationalists advanced to question the literary foundations of Christianity. Textual critics, working with the principles of the so-called lower criticism, had been trying from the time of Erasmus to find the correct text of the Bible. Now the critics saw the importance of fitting a text into the environment in which it was born and trying to determine its authorship from internal evidence. This was the higher criticism.

Wolff contended that the old Biblical interpretation was unscientific, and implied at least that the rationalists could do it more satisfactorily, but Semler, the chief exponent of destructive criticism, was himself so unscientific as to discard interpretations that did not accord with his theories. Semler declared that much of the Bible was not intended for all periods of time, and he was the author of the "accommodation theory" that Jesus and his apostles had to adapt truth to the Jews of their time and so taught many things from expediency. Lessing accepted Semler's negative view of inspiration and supplied critical ideas of his own. In his play of *Nathan the Wise* he tried to show that natural piety was superior to a religion of revelation. The universities of Jena and Göttingen were hot-beds of rationalism, and there Eichhorn contributed to the modern documentary theories of Genesis and certain New Testament writings, and denied miracles and the atonement.

The net result of this criticism was to show that the Bible must be interpreted in the light of its contemporary thought and life and in harmony with rational principles, but the critics realized that the human mind and the divine mind were akin and that reason and revelation are not incompatible. Rationalists as critics of everything but natural religion continued to assert themselves until Immanuel Kant criticized the critics and made it plain that there is a realm into which the mind unaided cannot go.

Rationalists had no constructive system to take the place of that which they criticized. They denied that religion was anything more than morality, Jesus Christ more than a man, the Bible more than a natural product of human minds. Such belief honeycombed the ranks of the German clergy. The heart was taken out of religion. Sermons were essays on moral or civic duty. Christianity was taken out of the schools, the name of Christ from the hymn books. In that spirit Germany entered the period of the French Revolution and suffered defeat and humiliation. Napoleon threw Germany down and stamped on her. He was the incarnation of what naturalism unrestrained could make a man. With his passing Germany awoke. The people yearned for the comfort and strength of religion, for a renewal of their confidence in God. Both Protestantism and Catholicism awoke to new life. A changed emphasis resulted in romanticism, which recognized the importance of the emotional as well as the intellectual side of man's nature. The romantic spirit blossomed in literature, with Schiller and Goethe and Herder as its representatives. It stimulated national pride and patriotism. Romanticism fed on imagination, delighted in nature, loved to find harmony and sympathy between man and nature, and gave new recognition to the values that were in human nature. It stimulated the dramatic and picturesque in religion, reappraised sacramentarianism, and unlike rationalism brought comfort and faith to those who were strong enough to depend on their own power.

The renaissance of faith did not stop Biblical criticism. The *Life of Jesus* by David Strauss, published in 1835, marked an epoch. He took the startling position that the narratives of the Gospels were mythical and that the story of Jesus was mainly a product of the imagination. The criticism of Strauss drove scholars to the historical sources. Ferdinand C. Baur, the founder of a school of criticism in the University of Tübingen, studied them on the Hegelian principle of genetic development from the simple to the complex. In this he made a valuable contribution to the study of church history. He examined into the apostolic history and worked out a tendency theory of antithesis between the Jewish party and the Pauline party and of a synthesis between the two to form the Catholic Church. The idea of antithesis was abandoned later, but Baur made a real contribution in his principles of order, growth, and continuity, an efficient guide through the maze of detail in critical study. In France Renan wrote a *Life of Jesus* (1863), intended to picture the real Jesus in

distinction from the traditional Christ. In England Seeley, a Cambridge professor, anonymously published *Ecce Homo* (1866), an inquiry into the heart of the man Jesus and the purpose of his life. Interest in the psychological and social study of Jesus dates from the book. Other lives of Jesus continued to come from the press of Germany, most of them critical, while others too numerous to mention found their way into print in other countries. The study of the documents produced the Synoptic Problem and the Johannine Problem, and many were the discussions of dates and authorship.

Interest in the New Testament was paralleled by the critical study of the Old Testament. The year of Strauss' *Life of Jesus* was signalized by the publication of the *Religion of the Old Testament*, by Vatke, a Berlin professor. The question of principal interest was as to the origin of the Pentateuch, with the conclusion that the book of Deuteronomy belonged to the time of the later monarchy. Julius Wellhausen became known as the author of the composite character of the early books. Kuenen in the Netherlands, and Britishers like Driver and W. Robertson Smith, developed the same ideas. The critics unraveled the skein of Hebrew history to find the prophetic and priestly strands, took to pieces the structure of the Jewish law to distinguish its original elements from its later accretions, determined the character of certain narratives as fiction rather than history, sorted out the Psalms according to the times of their origin, and transformed prophets from foretellers of the future to preachers of righteousness and of the holiness of God. Their conclusions were maddening to the traditionalists and unsettling to the minds of others. The main result of their studies was the conclusion that Hebrew religion passed through an era of development from the primitive period of the desert nomads to the post-exilic period, and that the so-called Mosaic law was not compiled in full until late in Old Testament times. The critics reconstructed the narrative of Hebrew history and reappraised the lives of the Old Testament prophets. In the New Testament the figures of Jesus and Paul dominated the discussions. More and more the human Jesus emerged from the gospel story as one who shared genuinely in the life of his times and sympathetically with the human experiences that are the same at all times.

Other students were at work in the history of the Church and of Christian doctrine. Adolph Harnack was the outstanding figure. He unearthed and published the original sources of the early history,

wrote a voluminous *History of Dogma*, and as professor for many years in the University of Berlin strongly influenced the thinking of students who came from other countries as well as from Germany. He emphasized the important place of environment in the development of the Christian Church, showing the part of Hellenism in the construction of Christian theology and of Rome in the organization of the Church. By degrees the conclusions of these men became recognized by most of the leading scholars of English and American theological circles, but they were strenuously opposed by conservatives and only slowly filtered through to the lay mind. But religious literature increasingly reflected the liberal theories and interpretations, especially since they were in harmony with the principles of modern science.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

The modern tendencies that appeared in Biblical criticism and liberal theology appeared also in England in political reform, which enfranchised many of the class which had dissented from Anglicanism. Some of the Anglicans took fright and feared an attempt to disestablish the Episcopal Church, especially since a lack of interest in religion had resulted in a shameful neglect of church property and interests. These were all reasons for asserting once more the rightful authority of the Established Church to control religion, and the result was the Oxford movement, which perpetuated itself in Anglo-Catholicism.

About 1820 at Oxford University a group of students stirred up theological discussion. Thomas Arnold, famous later as master of the school at Rugby, was broadminded enough to wish to include in one national Church all Christians except Unitarians and Catholics. John Keble, devotional in spirit, took a High Church position, maintaining that the sacraments are essential to salvation and the priests of the Church must bring men to God. Edward B. Pusey, R. H. Froude, and John Henry Newman, completed a quartette which took the lead in reasserting the claims of the Church. They believed that the best way to arouse a new interest in the Church was to issue tracts on ecclesiastical subjects, and to organize an association of persons who would recognize the importance of standing for the principles of the Church, maintaining its services, and magnifying its value. The proposed association was short-lived, but the *Tracts for the Times*, which gave the Oxford men the name of

Tractarians, proved valuable as a means of instructing the people in the principles of the Church. The result was a considerable reaction against the Low Church principles which had come in with Puritanism and had been accentuated by Methodism. Even to avow one's self a Catholic, as Newman came to do, was not to be put out of the pale of decent society.

Newman was the principal writer of the *Tracts*, and he had a clear and simple style that went far to commend his ideas. His *Grammar of Assent* showed his distrust of reason, and he was restless because he was uncertain of the seat of infallible authority. He had lost his hold on the Calvinistic Evangelicalism in which he was brought up, and when his anchors dragged he was thankful for the security of the lifeboat of Rome. His *Apologia* explained his final conviction that "outside the Catholic Church all things tend to atheism," and in an adaptation of the prevalent evolutionary tendency he tried to justify his adherence to Rome by showing that Catholicism was a development of and not contrary to primitive Christianity.

Newman was not the only man who went over to Rome, but he was the most conspicuous. The other members of the Oxford group kept in the *via media* between Catholicism and Protestantism. After Newman's defection Pusey became the head of the Oxford movement, so bringing upon his followers the designation of Puseyites. Keble and Pusey studied church history to get their bearings, and Pusey edited the beginning of a *Library of the Fathers*. The Oxford movement resulted in a new impetus to ritualism and sacramentarianism. The practice of confession was revived. Old customs crept in without the bishop's authority. It gave momentum to a Catholic trend in the Church of England, which has made the High Church party a growing force in the religious life and social activity of Great Britain. In scholarship, especially in the field of Christian activities, in active propaganda of its own peculiarities, and in social interest and service, the party took a prominent place. From it there has been an exodus of some into the Catholic fold, but the deserters have constituted only a small minority of those who have tried to enhance the importance of the Church as an institution, but are content with a national Episcopal Church conformed in usage as nearly as possible to Catholicism. The High Church party has valued highly the historical succession of bishops from the earliest times, and the Church of England has made that doctrine an essential part of all platforms which it has proposed for church union. The Church of

England regards itself as a truly Catholic Church though not obedient to Rome, and as such accepts for itself a mediating rôle between non-episcopal Protestantism and the two great Catholic churches, Roman and Greek. The spirit of comity with the Greek Church has improved in recent centuries.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. Why has Unitarianism always had a limited following? Who was Martineau?
2. What were the causes of the Unitarian secession from New England Congregationalism? Compare Channing and Parker.
3. What were the elements of the old theology against which the Unitarians protested?
4. What is meant by the historical method? the scientific method?
5. In what fields did science first disturb theology?
6. Show the consequences to theology of the wide acceptance of the evolutionary hypothesis.
7. What are some of the results of the higher criticism in regard to the Bible?
8. How has critical study affected opinion about the life of Christ?
9. What were the causes and consequences of the Oxford movement?
10. Estimate the character and career of Newman.

For class discussion or debate

1. Is the theory of evolution still Darwinian?
2. Has Biblical criticism made the Bible more valuable for religion or less?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral review

1. The American Unitarian Association.
2. Alfred Russell Wallace.
3. Thomas Huxley.
4. The effect of evolutionary theory on the interpretation of history.

For longer written essays

1. James Martineau as a philosopher.
2. The theory of natural selection as an explanation of the evolutionary process.
3. Nietzsche's application of the idea of struggle.
4. Henry Drummond as an interpreter of evolution to Christians.
5. Strauss's *Life of Jesus*.

For conference and examination

1. The development of the idea of process.

For maps and tables

1. A map to show the Unitarian secession in New England.
2. A list of five of the most important scientists and five of the Biblical critics.

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CHAPTER XXVII

LIBERALIZING THEOLOGY

CRITICAL PHILOSOPHY

THEOLOGIANS long since had defined God on the authority of revelation. Recently scientists had been accumulating and classifying facts about nature; historical critics had been examining into the origins of the Bible and testing its authenticity; and sociologists had begun to study man and his social environment. Every one of these made his contribution to human understanding, but it remained for the philosopher to take them all, pass them through the crucible of his mind and fit them into a reasonable, all-inclusive world-view. Many a scientist, like many a theologian, was ready to account for everything on his own terms, but his facts were limited to the field of the senses and his generalizations were the consequences of a certain set of facts. The philosopher might be affected too strongly by his confidence in one kind of authority, but it was distinctively his business to take account of all the facts and to attempt to explain rationally and consistently the whole universe, seen and unseen.

Fundamental to all philosophy was a rational theory of knowledge. The philosophers of the seventeenth century differed as to whether reliable knowledge comes through the senses or through an inner understanding that makes truth clear. Descartes taught that man has certain innate ideas that give him a clue to understanding. Locke on the contrary insisted that the only avenue to knowledge was through sense perceptions upon which the mind reflects and so arrives at reliable conclusions. Hume was skeptical of the reality of mind; according to him sense perceptions only set in motion certain sets of mental sequences. Certain French philosophers carried the ideas of Locke and Hume to materialistic conclusions, but philosophy could not rest in negations. Mind that was but a product of material mechanisms or but a bundle of associated feelings and cogitations without power to compare and discriminate, to judge and to classify what it receives, and so to ascertain values, is a pretty poor sort of

tool to use for ascertaining the meaning of ultimate reality. It was Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) who found in the mind certain regulative principles or categories, by which sense impressions are manufactured into ideas.

Through these categories, such as time, space, and causality, Kant was able to obtain a synthesis of empirical factors that impinged upon his consciousness from outside and of rational factors within himself, and so to reason his way to definite conclusions. But he was not able through either or both factors to find that reality beyond phenomena without which truth is only partial. He declared that one can know nature but cannot get back of nature to God. Thus Kant vindicated the mind, but he found limits to the power of intellect. He pleased the theologians by showing that rationalism could not find God, but he discomfited them when he declared that all knowledge is relative, not absolute. After Kant had denied the power of the unaided intellect to know reality, he asserted that through a moral imperative within man he comes to know the meaning of freedom, immortality and God. So Kant gave back to man his faith as a supplement to the reason which he had limited. Faith reaches out into the unseen and finds God, and faith has its own certitude from experience. Kant's psychology was unsound and his dualism between the world of sense and the world of ultimate reality was unsatisfactory, but he rendered a service to religion when he showed that science and faith each has a claim to validity.

THE ANSWER OF THE IDEALISTS TO THE QUESTION OF ULTIMATE REALITY

The problem of knowledge was but one of the main issues of philosophy. The metaphysical problem of reality and the ethical problem of duty were equally vexing, and Kant contributed to them all. The main question at issue was whether mind or matter is the ultimate reality, and what is the nature of man and the universe as well as God. That problem had two answers with which religion was concerned, the first that of the idealists, the second that of the agnostics. The idealists saw beyond the visible the invisible and spiritual, and found purpose as well as reality back of and shining through the universe. Idealistic philosophy was represented by a group of German thinkers, who tried to get at the ultimate reality which Kant declared pure intellect could not know. Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, with an intellectual emphasis, worked out a philosophy

based on God as absolute reason; Schleiermacher and Ritschl, with an emphasis on the emotional experience of man and his inward consciousness of God, contributed to the making of nineteenth-century theology. On account of Kant the nineteenth century witnessed a decided reaction against skepticism, which had been characteristic of so much of English, French and German thinking, until science gained the ascendancy after Darwin.

Fichte (1762-1814), though a disciple of Kant, could not rest satisfied with his dualism. He contended that neither nature nor man is the ultimate reality, but God. It is God who acts through nature, and thinks and wills in man. He alone is real. Because His urge is in us, we yield to the moral imperative within. Fichte's idealism was virtually pantheism, but it bridged the gulf of philosophical thought between God and man, and contributed to the acceptance of a belief in an immanent God. Schelling (1775-1854), in the precociousness of youth tried to do more justice to nature than Fichte had. Instead of thinking of nature as only the theater of man's self-realization he gave a meaning to nature in itself, developing in an orderly process until it flowers in human personality. Through all, whether lower nature or higher man, the indwelling God is the ultimate reality and the operating force. The ancient difficulty of interpreting God, man, and nature as distinct was thus explained by showing the close relation of all. Yet they were not clearly a real unity.

It was in Hegel (1770-1831) that the idealistic philosophy culminated. He was ambitious to be the master mind of his age and to apply his theories to all departments of thought. He was a profound thinker, one of those men like Origen who think in terms of systems rather than individual doctrines, of the race rather than of the individual. The earlier part of his career, most of which was spent at the University of Berlin, he devoted to the formulation of his philosophy, the latter part to the application of it to history, morals, and æsthetics. Hegel aimed at a cosmic unity which would include nature and human consciousness, things consistent and things contradictory, in one Absolute Reality, God. The Absolute is not static, but the eternal process that continually is differentiating itself in mind and matter. The Absolute becomes more clearly understood in history, becomes real to the individual through religion, and is related to society through morality.

Hegel's ideas became the platform of a school of thinkers and

his implications received wide application. His philosophy of history magnified the State and established a foundation for Germany's ambitious imperial program. Baur and Strauss in their radical criticism showed the tendency of the left-wing Hegelians. Pfleiderer in Germany took Hegel's suggestion that in Christianity the less perfect religions of the world have found fulfillment, and worked out a system of comparative religion. In Great Britain John and Edward Caird and T. H. Green interpreted religion on the basis of the Hegelian philosophy. Much of that philosophy was also theology. Hegel taught that God is not man but wills to manifest Himself to man. Jesus is the human manifestation. The Spirit is their common nature. Through the Church man gains the impulse to goodness, but the good life should be lived out in the world, and the influence of the Church should radiate abroad in the State, in the family, in business and social life. Hegel was impressed deeply by the fact that life was full of apparent contradictions. They appear in heat and cold, light and darkness, mind and matter. Morals is a struggle of good and evil, religion a struggle between reason and faith. The Spirit of the universe, he thought, resolves these contradictions into a unity, transmuting all into harmony and peace. With this conception of opposites it was easy to work out a formula of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis as Baur did in the history of the early Church.

AGNOSTICISM

With all his confidence in the harmonizing of contradictions Hegel was unable to blend the ideal and the material, the rational and the empirical. Less than thirty years after his death Darwin turned thought into scientific channels once more, and the cold, hard facts of science banished idealism from many minds. In philosophy the tendency was toward naturalism, in which neither God, freedom nor immortality had a place. Comte, Spencer, and Huxley were interpreters of an agnosticism that did not profess to discover God. Science did not solve the problem of reality; the scientist doubted whether it could be solved.

The exactness of science called for a definite, positive philosophy. August Comte organized the sciences into a system and believed them sufficient to explain the universe. He gave the name sociology to the science of human society, and made humanity rather than God the object of worship. It was an age of humanism, and it was

not remarkable that Comte should believe that with social regulation and the principle of altruism at work it might be possible to develop an ideal society. But he found that an ideal society could not exist without a religious dynamic other than the worship of itself.

Herbert Spencer made the principle of evolution the basis of a synthetic philosophy in which he included nature and man, but he found no sure place for God. He considered God as the first cause of phenomena, but he regarded Him as unknowable. From this came the term agnosticism, which gained popularity in England, and in America was popularized by John Fiske in his *Cosmic Philosophy*. In the last part of the nineteenth century the evolutionary philosophy affected the thinking of the laity in the churches and benumbed the religious interest of some. The negative gospel of Spencer with its wide reach of possible evolution kindled the interest and imagination of people who cannot move easily through the abstractions of theology, but can appreciate that which they visualize in the concrete.

The philosophy of naturalism has appealed especially to the scientific mind as the only possible explanation of life, and it has been supported by a behavioristic psychology, but for most persons the only satisfactory explanation is that there is a power transcending nature that makes for righteousness. The alignments of philosophy change, but there is always in the offing a school of idealists who point the way to the best that is yet to be. Such were Royce in America and Eucken in Germany as the nineteenth century passed into the twentieth. In Borden P. Bowne America had an exponent of personalism, which seemed to men of religion the only satisfying interpretation of the human and the divine natures, while the more venturesome, practical minds turned to the pragmatism of William James.

In spite of the attempt of philosophy to replace older systems with schemes that were modern and scientifically sound, their tendency was destructive to faith. Philosophy had to be reinterpreted by theology if it was to be helpful to religion. Theologies change with the currents of thought that are set in motion by science and philosophy, but theology never loses sight of the ancient landmarks. It is always the science of divine and human relations, and it never gets far away from the realities of experience. So it was that theology in the nineteenth century was reconstructive, fitting together as much as possible the experiences of religion with the intellectual processes of the period.

THE PROBLEM OF ETHICS

A third problem of philosophy was disturbing to religion, because not all thinkers agreed that man's supreme obligation was to God. The utilitarians regarded the object of life to be the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill in England were the chief exponents. Utilitarianism was interpreted purely as a this-world philosophy. It tended to stress the value of the economic, and to submerge spiritual values. It stimulated humanitarian efforts, in order that as many persons as possible might have the physical satisfactions that seemed essential to happiness. As an interpretation of the true purpose and objective of life it was less than Christian, and it made no contribution to theology.

SCHLEIERMACHER IN AN AGE OF ROMANTICISM

The eighteenth century had emphasized the right of the individual to his freedom. He had used his rational powers in full confidence of his ability to think and to act in utilitarian fashion. But the world was awry. The greatest experiment in human freedom, the French Revolution, had failed and the old system was reimposed. The disillusion drove some back to the Catholic Church, sent others to nature after the precepts of Rousseau, drew together the confessional churches of Germany into the Evangelical Union, and searched the hearts of men rather than their intellects, if perhaps they might find God there. It began to be realized that reality could be grasped only by insight and experience. The spirit of evangelicalism awoke once more.

It was the German Schleiermacher who turned the theologians and philosophers of Germany from intellectual theorizing to an experience of God that had its roots in feeling and its fruit in the will to action. Schleiermacher stressed the importance of the Christian consciousness as alone a true interpreter of religion and a standard for testing truth. The Christian consciousness was created and sustained by Christ, who was unique in his God-consciousness. Christ is man's redeemer, not so much from sin as from ignorance of God, and Christ's function as redeemer is performed by means of the Church, which is the soil in which religious experience grows. It is the whole personality and life of Christ which redeems the whole life of man. The feeling of dependence on God through Christ was basic in the thought of Schleiermacher.

At least three principles became prominent through the philosophy and religious teaching of Schleiermacher. The first of these was the idea of the development of theological thought through the religions of the world, culminating in Christianity. From that time the historical method was predominant in theology. The second was the doctrine of the immanence of God, which had been present in Greek Stoicism and which in America was sponsored by Emerson. The third was a recognition of the importance of the person of Christ. From that time occurred the lively discussions regarding the Christ of history compared with the Christ of experience, with the general conviction that in some way each principle must find due place in a real unity. Three schools of German theology resulted. The confessional, or Neo-Lutheran School put renewed emphasis on the historic creeds of Lutheranism and were not cordial to the Evangelical Union with the Calvinists in several of the German states. The Mediating School included those who accepted many of the conclusions of the critics without surrendering their belief in the evangelical fundamentals. In an irenic way they tried to smooth out the differences between conservatives and radicals. Among their leaders were Neander, the church historian, Dorner, who wrote a monograph on the person of Christ, and Rothe, prophet of social Christianity. The third school of Neo-Kantians became known as Ritschlians because of the leadership of Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889), professor at Bonn and Göttingen.

RITSCHL AND COLERIDGE

Like Kant, Ritschl distinguished between the speculative and the practical reason and emphasized the moral consciousness as fundamental to religion. He recalled attention to the Christ of history as the unique revelation of God. Schleiermacher was too careless of the historic Christ, especially of his death. Ritschl taught that subjective experience gives a knowledge of the divine qualities, but that Christianity rests on the objective revelation of Jesus Christ, who draws people to himself by the sheer greatness of his personality. Ritschl was not particularly concerned with the nature of Christ or with the possibility of knowing God in the essence of His being, but he was concerned deeply with the practical value of Christ to the world. It was its practical, historical character which was the first note of Ritschlianism. In the *Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation* he explained redemption as consisting of reconcilia-

tion with God through the interfusion of human personality with the personality of Jesus, coupled with man's own coöperation. Ritschl's practical emphasis on history and experience rather than on dogma or metaphysical argument appealed to Christian thinkers at a time when science was limiting religion by its insistence on fact and philosophy by its underestimation of revelation. Ritschlianism had a strong influence on the theological thinking of both Europe and America for at least forty years. A later emphasis on certain historical principles not thoroughly applied by Ritschl more recently produced the *Religionsgeschichtliche* School represented by Ernst Troeltsch of Heidelberg.

Schleiermacher was interpreted to English-speaking folk by Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834), through his *Aids to Reflection*. In the early part of the nineteenth century religion in England was represented mainly by the Church of England, with the evangelicals, like the Free Churches, contending that religion must find expression in an experience of conversion and salvation through the atonement of Christ, and the High Churchmen with their emphasis on the historic forms of religion leaning toward Catholicism. The bulk of church people were indifferent to either special emphasis. The great weakness of Protestantism, as of Catholicism before it, was its reliance upon a divine transaction which so easily came to seem mechanical. Whoever transferred the emphasis to an inner spiritual experience performed a most useful service. Coleridge, like Schleiermacher, made religion neither a form nor a transaction but a part of man's inner consciousness, reason and will. Christianity was to him more than a means of salvation or a system of ritual and organization. Christ strengthens that which is native in man, curing evil, training the conscience, and guiding the will. Coleridge's service to theology was his emphasis on the vital character of religious experience of God. He contributed to Biblical criticism in his *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*. He helped to emancipate the English mind from its preconceptions and to acquaint it with current thought on the problem of man's relation to God. He therefore helped to make religion more intellectual.

HORACE BUSHNELL

Coleridge made a deep impression on one man in America, who became the guide of a new generation of Congregationalists to a more liberal orthodoxy. This was Horace Bushnell. The Unitarians

had carried away with themselves most of the liberals among the Congregationalists, when they followed Channing into a new organization, but Congregationalists were more amenable to changes in theology than the rigidly evangelical Baptists and Methodists. Not satisfied with the intellectual approach to God that was characteristic of theology, Bushnell, when a young man, was delighted to read Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection* and find that there was another way through the feelings. Henceforth for him religious certitude was from within himself; truth registered itself in spiritual feeling and moral conviction rather than through logical demonstration.

Through a long pastorate in Hartford, Connecticut, Bushnell impressed his ideas upon the people of his own church and city, and through his books he aroused the attention, often hostile, of an outside world. His first contribution to the reconstruction of Protestant theology, made through his *Christian Nurture*, was that religion is natural to man, that the child needs no conversion if he is brought up as he should be, and that education rather than evangelism is the means to a religious life. His second contribution was that religion is not only natural but experimental. Even such doctrines as the Trinity and the atonement were not to be reasoned out, but confirmed by experience of their personal worth. A third contribution was his assertion that man is of a nature kindred to God. In current theological thought a great gulf existed between the natural and the supernatural, with man on the side away from God. Bushnell asserted that man belonged to both sides, that God was immanent in nature, and that God and man both enjoyed the same essential life or personality.

The principal doctrine of evangelical Protestantism was the atonement wrought for the sinner by Christ. This was the emphasis of Latin Christianity as compared with the Greek emphasis on the incarnation of God in Christ. The atonement had been explained according to various theories. In the Middle Ages Anselm had taught that man owed God a debt of sin that he could not pay, and his salvation depended wholly on the sacrificial death of Christ, who had more than paid the arrears. Hugo Grotius in Holland explained the transaction in judicial terms. Man had failed to render due obedience to his divine sovereign and the justice of God demanded that he should die for his disobedience unless Christ satisfied divine justice by taking upon himself the sins of the world and suffering the penalty as a substitute. In Scotland McLeod Campbell made a stir by

declaring that the significance of the atonement was its moral influence, not its commercial or governmental value. Bushnell argued for this theory in his book entitled *Vicarious Sacrifice*. He declared that Jesus died as he had lived in order to reveal the loving, forgiving character of God, which yearned over the prodigal to reconcile him to himself. Jesus died to save men from their worst selves, not to satisfy the debit ledger or the justice of God. Love is always vicarious, but the sacrifice of Christ was not substitutionary.

Bushnell was a vigorous pioneer of liberal evangelical thought. He tried to make religion more natural and more easily understood. He did much to give warmth to theology as well as new light to the Church.

EVIDENCES OF CHANGING THEOLOGY

The outburst of progressive religious thinking between 1820 and 1830 was the sudden flowering of a religion that had been almost smothered by skepticism or cold formalism, except where the evangelical awakening had come. Between 1850 and 1860 there was a pause in the development of the new theology. It was the time when Biblical criticism was playing havoc with opinions about the Bible, and science was shaking the foundations of the older authority. Physics and chemistry and physiology were adding to the disturbance already caused by astronomy and geology. Biology had begun to hint strongly of evolution, though Darwin had not yet written. Discussions raged over the value of prayer, the reign of law, the possibility of miracle, and the reasonableness of any doctrine of an atonement for earth-born folk in view of the immensity of the universe. After 1860 the conviction deepened that profound changes in theology were on the way.

There are times when a single book turns the tide of thought. Such was a series of essays published under the title of *Essays and Reviews* in the year 1860. They were an attempt on the part of a half dozen clergymen of the Church of England to win freedom of theological thinking in the Church. Either theology, they thought, must adjust itself to the best thinking of the time in science and philosophy and criticism, or the Church would lose its hold on thinking people. Benjamin Jowett was the best known of the writers. The book was condemned by the Convocation of the Anglican Church, but it was significant as showing the changing beliefs inside the Established Church. The controversy simmered down to the issue

whether the Bible was inspired and whether punishment was everlasting. The larger hope was discussed at length in the *Contemporary Review*, particularly by Canon Farrar. The question of Biblical inspiration created echoes far from England. John W. Colenso was Bishop of Natal in South Africa and a critical student of the Bible. In his desire to break down the bibliolatry of those who venerated the Bible as infallible, he angered his ecclesiastical superiors and was deprived of his office and excommunicated from the Church of England.

W. Robertson Smith was driven from his chair in the Free Church College of Glasgow because of his liberal opinions, and certain teachers in America were accused of heresy. Theological schools were disturbed by the influence of current thought. The Mercersburg theology of the German Reformed Church about 1860 and the Andover theology of the Congregationalists twenty-five years later created much disturbance, even beyond their particular denominational connections. Stalwart college presidents like McCosh of Princeton, Porter of Yale, Hopkins of Williams, and Wayland of Brown, taught philosophy and Christian evidences and were usually conservative in their thinking, but before the century was over Munger and Smyth at New Haven, Gladden at Columbus, Ohio, Gordon at Boston, and William N. Clarke in his chair of theology at Colgate University, were disseminating modern ideas about religion, and Union Theological Seminary in New York City freed itself from the dominance of a conservative Presbyterianism.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. How does the task of the philosopher differ from that of the scientist?
2. What did Kant contribute to philosophy, and what limitation did he find to his thinking?
3. What was German idealism? How did the evolutionary idea affect the thinking of Hegel?
4. What is the difference between agnosticism and naturalism?
5. Explain why Schleiermacher's theology had so widespread an influence.
6. Why did Ritschl's idea of value judgments make so successful an appeal to Christian thinkers?
7. How did Coleridge become an exponent of German theology?
8. What were the contributions of Bushnell to liberal thinking? Is it proper to speak of him as a Unitarian?

9. Why did the publication of *Essays and Reviews* create such a stir?
10. What was the Andover controversy in America?

For class discussion or debate

1. Which has had the greater influence on Christian progress: Bushnell's *Christian Nurture* or Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*?
2. Has modern criticism destroyed the authority of the Bible?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral review

1. Meaning of the left-wing Hegelians.
2. Baur's theory of synthesis applied to the New Testament.
3. Comte's hierarchy of the sciences.
4. John Stuart Mill.

For longer written essays

1. Emerson's doctrine of the immanence of God.
2. Ritschl's theory of value judgments.
3. The distinctive ideas of Troeltsch.
4. Bushnell's discussion of the character of Jesus.

For conference and examination

1. The contribution of Coleridge to the English understanding of German theology.

For maps or tables

1. A map of Germany to illustrate the discussions in theology and philosophy.
2. Comparative tables showing the contributions to thought of Germans, British and Americans.

READING REFERENCES

Sources

KANT. Critique of Pure Reason
 SCHLEIERMACHER. On Religion
 RITSCHL. The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation
 COLERIDGE. Aids to Reflection
 SPENCER. Synthetic Philosophy
 BUSHNELL. Christian Nurture; God in Christ; Nature and the Supernatural
 Essays and Reviews
 Progressive Orthodoxy

Secondary Guides

MERZ. History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century
 STORR. Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century

- TULLOCH. The Movement of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century
- HUNT. Religious Thought in England in the Nineteenth Century
- FISKE. Cosmic Philosophy
- PFLIEDERER. Development of Thought in Germany since Kant
- MOORE. History of Christian Thought since Kant
- HARRIS. A Century's Change in Religion
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- MUNGER. Horace Bushnell
- BUCKHAM. Progressive Religious Thought in America
- CROSS. Schleiermacher
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—— Current Christian Thinking
- KNUDSEN. Present Tendencies in Religion
- GARVIE. Ritschlianism
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- DEWEY. Reconstruction in Philosophy
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CHAPTER XXVIII

THREE CENTURIES OF CATHOLICISM

THE RECOVERY OF THE CHURCH

BUFFETED though it was by the tidal wave of the Reformation, the Roman Catholic Church righted itself, adopted the most necessary reforms, stimulated a new devotion to religion, and improved education. The Council of Trent had permanent effects through its commissions known as Congregations. The popes revised canon law. Greater zeal and industry were evidences that medieval sloth and degeneration were being overcome, and new organizations were being created which made it possible for the Church to function more efficiently.

The Church was compelled to defend itself against the historical scholarship of the reformers. Baronius, the librarian of the Vatican at Rome, spent thirty years writing his *Ecclesiastical Annals*, which were intended to counteract the criticisms of the *Magdeburg Centuries* with their exposure of the False Decretals. Other authorities wrote Catholic histories which were worthy of their subject. Bellarmine explained the Catholic theology as an offset to Protestantism.

ECCLESIASTICAL LEARNING

The urge to learning which had been applied to classical study by the Italian humanists and to Biblical study by the Christian humanists of northern Europe was transmuted in Catholic circles into a zeal for ecclesiastical learning. Between 1600 and 1750 research for old religious manuscripts went on, editions of the Church Fathers were published, and historical documents were collected and collated and narratives were written out on church history. In 1643 was begun the publication of a long series of *Acts of the Saints*, edited for a time by John Bolland and therefore called the Bollandist collection. The archæology of the Church was a subject of investigation. Ancient liturgies were worked over. The story of the church councils was written out in detail. At the same time there

was an outburst of pulpit oratory specially noteworthy in Bossuet and Fenelon in France.

Certain Catholic scholars gave special attention to Biblical study. Commentaries on portions of the New Testament were so good as to be used later by some of the Protestants. Van den Steen produced a commentary on the Bible as a whole which maintained its popularity for many years. In their theories of Biblical inspiration and in their interpretation the Catholics were not so fettered as were the Lutherans and Calvinists, but it was expected that the Vulgate would be used as the authoritative text. A theological professor in Spain was imprisoned by the Inquisition for a term of five years because he ventured to use the Hebrew text as preferable to the Vulgate. The doctrine of Biblical infallibility was not maintained for every part of the Bible and the Church always took the position that its own authority was superior to that of the Bible. Richard Simon, one of the pioneers of Biblical criticism, placed criticism on a foundation which made the later constructive scholarship possible.

It was rather in the formation of groups of active servants of the Church that the Counter Reformation showed its larger results. Several new orders were formed as a consequence of the stimulus of the sixteenth century and others were reorganized. Each of these had its special object, but in general they were more concerned with the needs of others than were the older monastic orders. Most of them were organized as congregations under a common rule. Certain of the independent Benedictine monasteries of France were associated as Benedictines of St. Maur, a follower of Benedict of Nursia. This association gave itself to the task of education, and became renowned for its scholarship. Certain orders of nuns undertook to educate children. Such were the Ursuline nuns, whose special department was the education of girls. A number of organizations came into existence for the purpose of ministering to the sick. The best known of them were the Sisters of Charity, with various official titles. They were the product of the devotion of St. Vincent de Paul (1576-1660), a French priest, who had the spirit of Francis of Assisi. His powerful preaching in the prisons gave him the office of royal almoner to the galley slaves of France. He enlisted women in the service of the sick and the suffering, and inspired a society of mission priests who became known as Lazarists from their house of St. Lazare in Paris. Their house became a training center for the secular priests and an agency of ministry to lay folk who were wandering in social waste places. The Redemptorists were organized

by Liguori of Naples in 1742 to preach the gospel to the ignorant and the poor. In contrast to these beneficent orders were the Trappists, extreme ascetics, chiefly repentant debauchees willing to do anything to save their own souls from the effects of self-indulgence.

The strangest cult was the veneration of the sacred heart of Jesus, which rapidly gained popularity. The origin of it was in the neurotic visions of a morbid nun, Marguerite Alacoque, who thought that she saw in Christ's body his bleeding heart, and received from him a commission to institute a "devotion to the Sacred Heart" at stated times. Though the Dominicans opposed the idea, the Jesuits approved it, and eventually it was authorized by Pope Clement XIII.

SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUITS

The Jesuits were very active in the seventeenth century, especially in foreign missions. They tried to propagate their faith in the Far East, resorting to questionable methods to gain their ends. In Latin America the Jesuits obtained civil as well as ecclesiastical control of Paraguay and put the natives under a paternal form of government. Capuchins as well as Jesuits started the missions in California in 1697, but San Francisco was founded by the Franciscans. The methods and principles of the Jesuits, especially their business operations, aroused the antagonism of governments and people, even in the solidly Catholic countries of southern Europe. They were expelled from Portugal, France, and Spain in succession, and after a strong demand for the abolition of the order the pope suppressed it in 1773. The organization refused to dissolve and went into Prussia and Russia to wait until the storm of disapproval should blow over.

In the Jesuit spirit, though not a member of that order, Alphonsus Liguori started easy moral reforms among the clergy. He did not scruple to use questionable means to achieve his ends, but he provided a wholesome spur for the scores of thousands of priests in Italy and organized associations of them under the name of Redemptorists and sent them into the slums for social service. He was medieval in his encouragement of the veneration of the Virgin, teaching that she was mediator between God and man, and he imitated the Jesuit veneration of the heart of Jesus. He dug the channel in which the stream of modern Catholicism has flowed.

FORTUNES OF THE PAPACY

After the Reformation the outstanding figure among the popes was Sixtus V (c. 1590). He had no disposition to be subordinated

to the will of others, and he reformed the Curia, suppressed brigandage, and beautified Rome with the Vatican Library and other buildings. After him Catholic popes followed one another in rapid succession, most of them elderly men with no special ability or achievement. They made friends with kings and sent their nuncios to Catholic courts, but they had far less prestige than before the Reformation. As a rule they had to defer to royal wishes in episcopal appointments. At Rome they were surrounded by a Curia in which the principal figures were prominent members of local families. They consistently opposed all tendencies to civil or political liberty and were fond of Italian princely ways.

In the eighteenth century the worthiest pope was Benedict XIV, a learned man, adaptable to his times, benefactor to his States through his practical reforms, and wise in his foreign policies. He saw the wisdom of making friendly approaches to European monarchs, but he had to yield certain of the claims which popes had maintained. By a concordat arranged with the King of Spain Pope Benedict shared certain revenues with the king. Later the papal fortunes were benefited by the reaction that came after the French Revolution, and the popes found themselves looked upon as champions of conservatism.

THE CHURCH IN FRANCE

The French Government never lost sight of the tradition of the Gallican liberties. They had been reasserted in an assembly of the French clergy in 1682 which the king summoned. It was declared that the pope had no right to interfere in national affairs, that his spiritual authority was subject to the regulations of the canon law, that he could not change the rules of the Church in France, and that a general council of the Church was superior to him and could amend his decisions. There was always the possibility that a general council might clip the wings of papal authority. Louis XIV was a staunch defender of the Gallican liberties at the same time that he was revoking the edict of toleration of Protestants.

The Church in France was rich with the spoil of the years. The bishops were wealthy aristocrats. The clergy realized the advisability of standing in with an absolutist court. They gave no moral challenge at a time of injustice and misery and growing discontent with the Government. Consequently when revolution burst upon the Government and overthrew it, the Church went down in the general ruin. Voltaire and his fellow rationalist philosophers could see no

value in a religion which was represented by such a Church. The revolutionists soon isolated the French Church from Rome, confiscated ecclesiastical property, secularized church institutions, and reduced the number of bishops. Then came the novel sight of the lay State setting up in place of Christianity the worship of Reason or at best of a Supreme Being, and assuming the right to control the activities of religious bodies and to tolerate religions of various sorts.

The pope championed the cause of the harassed French clergy. The French Government retaliated by taking Avignon for itself, and the French people burned the pope in effigy. The pope would not allow the symbol of the new republic to find a place in Rome, and the Roman mob maltreated a member of the French embassy. Then the pope joined a coalition of the Powers against France, and as a temporal sovereign declared war against a people whose vicar of Christ he claimed to be. With the advent of Napoleon the Papal States were transformed into a republic and the pope died in exile. But two years later Napoleon thought it well to come to terms with the papacy, and he concluded a Concordat with Pope Pius VII, according to which the bishops in France were to be appointed and maintained by the State and to be confirmed by the pope; Catholicism was declared to be the religion of France; and bishops must swear to support the constitution of the nation. Napoleon agreed to provide suitable salaries for the clergy, and the pope promised to see that the bishops conformed. The disturbances of the period caused inconvenience and confusion to the Church. Napoleon's domineering attitude provoked friction. For five years the pope was a prisoner and his territories were held by the alien emperor, but the pope was restored to power on the fall of Napoleon. As far as possible the old order was restored in Catholic countries. In France Chateaubriand commended the Christian religion once more to the French people in his *Genius of Christianity*. The Congregation of the Index at Rome resumed its censorship of literature. Seven hundred persons were charged with heresy. The Bible was forbidden to the laity and Bible societies were denounced by the pope. Twenty-five hundred monasteries which had been dissolved were reëstablished. The Jesuit order was revived, to show its gratitude by strengthening the cause of ultramontaniam ever since. The Jesuits promptly recaptured the control of education, took a hand in politics, and reëntered the field of diplomacy.

The recovery of the old order after the fall of Napoleon left

French schools in Catholic hands and the Jesuits scheming to carry through their program of ultramontaniam. And the *Syllabus of Errors* of Pius IX condemned all thought of the separation of Church and State. With the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870 the strength of the extreme Catholics was weakened a few years later and Government expelled the Jesuits once more, secularized education, and by an assemblage law undertook to regulate the ecclesiastical orders within the country. The hostility of an irreligious Government irritated by Catholic machinations, resulted in drastic action. The Concordat of 1801 negotiated by Napoleon was opposed, and a Law of Associations required all associations to be authorized by the State. In 1903 religious orders were suppressed and convents were closed. The next year official relations with the papacy were sundered. In 1905 the Separation Law was passed. The new law ended the Concordat and the policy of State support of religion which had included Protestants as well as Catholics ever since Napoleon's day. The Law pronounced for liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, and gave title of all church property to France to be assigned for use to those who should submit loyally to the national decrees. The separation of Church and State was supported by vote of the people at the national elections, and with modifications continued to be the future policy of the nation. The World War and the participation in it of so many priests caused a better feeling toward the Church and the stern aspect of the law was relaxed.

CATHOLICS IN ENGLAND

The strong feeling against Catholicism that accompanied the Revolution of 1688 in England continued throughout the eighteenth century. Yet Catholics worshiped unmolested, and the pope ventured to appoint a representative in London. Gradually the English sense of justice was willing to consider remedies for injustice. In Ireland laws of repression were removed. Soon afterward Roman Catholics were permitted to acquire land in England, though this led to the Gordon riots. Catholics found places in the army and navy. Presently they announced unswerving loyalty to the Crown and protested against discriminations against them. Finally the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 removed their disabilities. The Oxford movement gave publicity to Catholicism and created a revival of interest in it. Since then the Church has had freedom to thrive alongside Protestant institutions, and the spirit of Catholicism is present among many who do not acknowledge Roman authority.

PAPAL INFALLIBILITY AND TEMPORAL POWER

With the decline of political influence the Catholic Church seemed to gain in spiritual influence. People in the nineteenth century were shy of temporal authority but they had respect for the ancient Church. At a distance the system of Rome did not present the deficiencies which were evident close at home. In the Papal States the inefficient government did not recommend papal administration. The reforms which had been inaugurated under the Napoleonic régime were abolished and modern improvements were checked. Brigands were so bold as to obtain definite terms from the State. Financial conditions were bad and corruption honeycombed the administration. While the pope was conciliating foreign governments he was creating hatred among his subjects even to the point of rebellion. For a quarter of a century the Jesuits controlled papal policy.

Pius IX became pope in 1846. The spirit of revolution was again abroad in Europe, and in 1848 a series of political revolutions beginning in France occurred in the states of Europe. The pope offered a quasi-constitution to his people, and they began to think of him as a liberal and to hope that the forces of Italian unification might rally about him as their leader. But when he refused to join a national movement against Austria, which held some Italian territory and opposed national unity, the patriots turned against him, drove him from Rome, and set up a republic. He was back again before long with the friendship of the French and the Austrians, cured of any tendencies toward liberality. During most of his long pontificate of thirty-two years a reactionary policy prevailed, ultramontanists under Jesuit leaders magnified the papal office, and certain epochal events occurred in the development of the papal system.

The first of these events was the deification of the Virgin Mary, promulgated by the pope in 1854 on his own authority as a part of the Jesuit program of the right of the pope to issue such declarations. For many centuries the mother of Jesus had been revered. The Nestorian controversy of the fifth century had brought into relief the conviction that she held a unique place as *θεοτόκος*, mother of God. The passing centuries increased the veneration paid to her. The parish clergy and the monks and nuns vied in doing her honor. Artists painted her portrait and sculptors carved her image. The people prayed to her with unquestioning faith in her goodwill and power. The Latin Father Augustine found it difficult to believe in her absolute sinlessness since she was human, but the Franciscans

believed and taught her immaculate conception, though the Dominicans opposed it. It received a new impulse as a Catholic doctrine from the Jesuits, and now they had the power to speak through the pope. The dogma promulgated by him was called the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, and all good Catholics were charged to believe that she was conceived without any inheritance of the sin of Adam. Then years later in 1864 the pope spoke with authority against the modernist attitude as a spirit of revolt against the divine revelation and the authority of the Church. In a *Syllabus of Errors* he included historical criticism and the use of the scientific method in theology, opposed freedom of belief and worship, the separation of Church and State, the rights of the laity even in civil matters, and the freedom of the press, alongside distinctly anti-Christian doctrines.

In 1870 the capstone was put upon the papal structure by the declaration of the infallibility of the pope. It was a medieval idea but the doctrine was not universally held. The Jesuits believed in it and through their controlling influence the Council of the Vatican, meeting in St. Peter's at Rome, announced solemnly that the Roman pontiff when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, "when in the discharge of his office as pastor and teacher of all Christians by virtue of his apostolic authority he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the universal Church, by the divine assistance promised to him by the blessed Peter, enjoys that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer wished that his Church be provided for defining doctrine regarding faith or morals, and that after such definitions of the Roman pontiff are irreformable of themselves." Thus was achieved an ambition cherished by the popes from the days of the ancient councils, and henceforth councils were unnecessary except for advice or to register the pontifical will. Most Catholics accepted the decision of the Council without discussion, but certain German theologians demurred, claiming that the Council had exceeded its powers. They were good Catholics but they were not ultramontanists. They wished to go back of the days of papal authority to the Fathers of the first two or three centuries. Soon they were called Old Catholics, and in 1871 they met in a congress at Munich and decided to establish an independent Catholic Church. As many as fifty thousand Germans were ready to join, but the movement soon lost its energy and became negligible.

At the hour of his ecclesiastical triumph the pope suffered a political loss by being compelled to give up the city of Rome, the

capital of Peter's patrimony. It was the culmination of a long decline of the temporal power. The unification of the new Kingdom of Italy required Rome for its own completion. The pope became a voluntary prisoner in his Vatican palace, not to be consoled for his losses until his local sovereignty was slightly enlarged by agreement with the State in 1929.

LATER POPES

Leo XIII succeeded to the papal chair in 1878 and through a pontificate of twenty-four years guided Catholic fortunes shrewdly. He was irenic in disposition, diplomatic in method, and conciliatory toward the times in which he lived. His policy of pacification helped to heal old wounds and to promote a general good feeling for the Church which he represented. Yet he showed the medieval spirit which was characteristic of his predecessors, condemning socialism, the labor movement, and Americanism, which with its more liberal spirit was invading the Catholic Church in the United States. He declared in favor of the teachings of Thomas Aquinas as a true norm of Catholic doctrine. The pontiffs who followed Leo were of less outstanding eminence.

CATHOLICISM IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

Austria had remained faithful to the Roman Catholic Church during the Reformation. Some of the people revolted against spiritual authority, but the Government repressed them. The German states decided for their people the form of religion, whether Catholic or Protestant, with the result that the empire was divided in allegiance. As long as Austria dominated that empire the relations with Rome were friendly, but after Prussia wrenched away the political control in 1866 political differences arose which created friction. The organization of the German insurgents against the infallibility of the pope created a demand for their removal from their places in the schools and universities. These circumstances created the Kulturkampf. The attitude of Bismarck was unfriendly, and repressive laws were passed by the Reichstag. These bore heavily upon Catholic teachers, gave to the State the power to appoint Catholic clergy and required their education in state universities. Religious orders were frowned upon. Marriage was made a civil process. Utterances of the Catholic press were censored. In Prussia still more severe measures amounted to a policy of persecution. The Catholics were

incensed by these laws. A Catholic party was organized in the Reichstag. In the end the prime minister was forced to compromise in order to carry through his political program. Then most of the offensive laws were withdrawn. A more friendly policy prevailed toward Rome under William II, who wished the support of the Catholic party for his policies.

The loyalty of many of the Catholic people of central Europe weakened in the nineteenth century. Even in Austria religious liberty was decreed in 1867, and various reforms limited the powers of the clergy. About 1900 there was a perceptible *los von Rom* movement, which was inspired by the activity of the Evangelical Union. This resulted in considerable uneasiness in the old Church, and stimulated certain Catholic reforms. In Catholic countries generally more people were being lost to the old Church because of their loss of all religious faith under the stress of the secular spirit, not because of any friendliness for Protestantism.

CATHOLIC FORTUNES IN THE LATIN COUNTRIES

Loyal as were the people of most Catholic nations, their rulers varied in the thoroughness of their allegiance to Rome. Under the reactionary king Ferdinand VII Spain readmitted the Jesuits, permitted the Inquisition, and submitted to clerical tyranny, but twenty years later monastic orders were banned and the public property of the clergy was confiscated. Inside the next ten years religious differences were compromised and a concordat arranged with the pope, and the Catholic Church was given a monopoly of religion. Under Queen Isabella the power of the clergy increased until Protestants were persecuted, but soon the dreary round of hostility to the Church and a recovery of its power was being repeated. For the last forty years the radicals and the Church party have kept their mutual alignment of opposition, and the situation has not changed materially. The few Protestants have been tolerated, if they remain inconspicuous, but gains have been small. In Portugal the conditions have been much the same.

Spain and Portugal by the will of the pope divided the colonial world between themselves soon after American discoveries were made, with Spain getting the lion's share. Latin America became Catholic naturally, and when a hundred years ago the several countries won their independence one after another the Catholic faith was too strongly entrenched to be dislodged. But as in the mother

countries insurrection occasionally broke out against either Church or State, and hostile acts vexed the Church. President Juarez of Mexico issued anti-Catholic proclamations decreeing religious liberty, civil marriage, and nationalization of church property, and he drove into banishment the bishops who opposed him. In spite of interruptions this beginning of reform was continued, the Catholic Church lost most of its advantages, and Protestants increased in numbers. Missionaries from the United States established themselves in several of the Mexican cities, opened schools, and carried on their propaganda. Brazil began about 1850 to weaken the power of the Church, freed itself from papal interference, secularized monastic property, and instituted civil marriages. Legislative bodies were opened to Protestants. In Argentina toleration was granted to Protestants after 1865, and Jesuit property was not allowed to the order. In Chile friction developed between the Church and the State, resulting in the separation of the two with civil marriage and abolition of civil disqualifications for non-Catholics. Even in those republics where Catholicism seemed impregnable the status of the Church was weakened, and the bonds which bound State and Church together were strained to the breaking point. The clergy persistently contended against the growing independence of the State and political rivalries were complicated occasionally by religious issues, but nothing could prevent the slow advance of Protestant missions in the more progressive republics and the rapid progress of skepticism among the educated.

CATHOLICS IN THE UNITED STATES

The early prospects of Catholicism in America were very promising. Spaniards in Florida and the Southwest and French in the St. Lawrence and Mississippi valleys had a boundless opportunity until the English made their occupation complete. The Catholic beginnings in Louisiana and Maryland were on so small a scale that Catholics were a negligible factor until Irish immigration began on a large scale toward the middle of the nineteenth century. After that the progress of Irish Americans in business and politics strengthened the resources of the Church and provided priests for her service. As other peoples came with the acceleration of immigration, especially from southern and eastern Europe and from French Canada, the number of Catholics greatly increased, though the indifference of many of them to religion resulted in a loss of millions of

persons who normally would have retained their Catholic membership.

Ecclesiastical affairs were organized before the eighteenth century was over. In 1791 the first Synod of the Church was held at Baltimore, and a provincial council met in 1829. Trouble broke out because the American spirit of democracy among the laity chafed at clerical control of organization and property. The demand for local self-control produced the issue of trusteeism in many parishes for a period of several decades. By 1852 all the clergy in the country were represented in a plenary council which had the power to legislate for the American Church if approved at Rome. A half century later, when Pope Pius X declared in 1908 that the United States was no longer missionary territory under the jurisdiction of the Congregation of the Propaganda, the American Church had a cardinal, fifteen archbishops, and ninety-one bishops with jurisdiction over more than fifteen thousand priests and approximately fourteen million adherents. Many orders of monks and friars were established in the country, including the Paulist Fathers, who were organized by Father Hecker, a convert from Protestantism, and who as evangelistic preachers won many converts from the Protestants. Scores of communities of women became nurseries of the spirit of service, and Sisters of Charity seemed angels of mercy in slums and hospitals, working to relieve sickness and suffering like the lassies of the Salvation Army. The St. Vincent de Paul societies gave aid to the sick and poor. Various sodalities and fraternities were organized in the parishes and carried on lay activities, though the laity had little power in the Church. A National Catholic Council served as a clearing house and a guide in the various social interests in which the Church felt concern. But the American Catholics looked for direction and authority to the papacy at Rome.

Because it was under foreign direction the Catholic System always was under suspicion of American Protestants and sometimes the opposition found vigorous expression in attack upon a local institution, public denunciation of the hierarchy, or the organization of political propaganda in the Know Nothing Party or the American Protective Association. The latest evidence of such a spirit was the attitude of the Ku-Klux-Klan. The organization of parochial schools displeased many because they were hostile to the American principle of the separation of Church and State. There were those in Catholic circles, even clergy, whose Americanism made them more liberal

than the official body in control, but even they were distrusted as under foreign domination. At the same time the American spirit was under surveillance by the hierarchy as suspicious. In recent decades the Catholic Church has gained ground rapidly in the cities and is extending its activities into the rural districts as its constituency expands. Protestants and Catholics recognize each other as fellow Christians, though under different standards, and a disposition to coöperate is often evident where the clergy are friendly.

MODERNISM

The same tendency to yield to the seductions of rationalism was felt by the Catholic as by the Protestant mind. The modernist spirit focalized in the socialist movement in the time of Leo XIII. It was ecclesiastical in the Old Catholic secession. It was theological among certain of the younger clergy after 1900. The spirit of modernism in the Church was akin to the spirit of science and free thinking; it was critical of ecclesiastical authority, friendly to other faiths, dynamic in its urge to change. Its exponents had no desire to leave the Church, but they wanted more freedom inside it. Alfred Loisy, a French professor, took a radical position in Biblical criticism and was excommunicated from the Church. George Tyrrell of Ireland was converted to Jesuitism by the attitude of Newman, but because of heretical writings was expelled from the order. In *Christianity at the Crossroads* he took the attitude of a liberal Anglican. Murri, an Italian, represented the practical, social side of the modernist movement; he opposed the clerical control of all social work. Early pronouncements against liberalism of every sort were reiterated by Pope Pius IX in 1907, when in an encyclical letter he condemned the attitude and the conclusions of the modernists, declared that they were due to curiosity, pride and ignorance, and advocated as remedies the study of scholastic philosophy, the exclusion of modernist teachers from the schools, and frequent reports by vigilance committees from dioceses and parishes. The principal hindrance to modernism, however, was the feeling of attachment to the mother Church and hesitancy to meet her condemnation. In the Roman Catholic Church as elsewhere differences of opinion appear, and the modernist spirit is abroad, but the Church reasserts its authority when needed, and is able to retain the allegiance of most of its children.

THE EASTERN CHURCHES

After the Mohammedans had cut off whole provinces from the Eastern Empire the Christian population of those lands was under the rule of caliphs, but the Christian patriarchs were given extensive powers of oversight and made responsible for their good behavior. The schism between Eastern and Western churches in the eleventh century and the crusades which followed soon created bad feeling between the people of the two regions. An attempt was made to interest the patriarch of Constantinople in the Lutheran Reformation without result, and in the next century Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Alexandria and later of Constantinople, made approaches to the Dutch and the English, but gained unpopularity by his policy and eventually was put to death by the Turkish sultan. Although the Turkish Government recognized the patriarch of Constantinople as the head of the Christians the different nations had their own churches. The East as well as the West had had its immigration problem of Slavs, and it was not until the nineteenth century that the national Balkan churches were able to make good their independence. Most of the peoples of southeastern Europe have remained static in their culture, and religion has not felt the sweep of the currents of modernism which have affected the West. Because of its political prominence Russia acted as protector of weaker peoples, and the Russian Church became the most important body of Eastern Christians.

Until 1589 the Church in Russia was dependent on the patriarch of Constantinople, but Russia was beginning to outgrow its period of childhood. The consent of the patriarch at Constantinople was given to Russian independence with a patriarch in Moscow. The northern part of the country was evangelized and monasteries were planted. Older religious houses were regulated and an attempt was made to check the accumulation of so much property in the hands of the Church, for one-third of all the property in the country was held thus. There were times when the Orthodox Church had to meet a powerful rivalry from Roman Catholicism, which had made its way into the country from Poland. There was superstitious objection to certain reforms attempted by the Russian patriarch Nikon, which resulted in the separation of the Old Believers from the Church. In spite of persecution they persisted in their separatism, numbering four millions early in the twentieth century. Stundists and Baptists were to prove disturbing factors in the nineteenth cen-

ture. But the Orthodox Church continued to command the allegiance of the masses of the peasants, who were mystical in temperament and childlike in their belief in all the traditions which they had been taught.

In 1721 Peter the Great substituted the Holy Synod for the patriarchate. The Synod was a committee appointed by the tsar with a procurator at the head, and it knit even more closely the Church and the State. Russian Orthodoxy was carried to the East with the advance of Russia across Asia, and was even able to convert Mohammedans. At times the tsars showed themselves tolerant of Roman Catholics, Jews and Mohammedans, but again they laid upon them the heavy hand of oppression. The Doukhobors, of Quaker sympathies, were driven from the country, some of them making their way to Canada. The Bible was translated into the vernacular, and the serfs on the Crown lands were liberated about the time of the American Civil War. But the spread of revolutionary ideas in a country strictly under autocratic rule tended to make the Government intolerant, and Western ideas either in politics or religion were unwelcome. Pobiedonostseff, the procurator of the Holy Synod, was the impersonation of ecclesiastical tyranny and intransigence, as the tsar was of political reaction. It was therefore not at all strange that when the Russian Revolution came in 1917 the Church should have suffered from the hostility of the revolutionists. With the setting up of the Bolshevik régime, religion was attacked with a determination such as was shown by the extremists in the French Revolution. After confiscation of church lands and refusal to continue government subsidies the clergy were persecuted and hundreds of monasteries were dissolved. Thousands of priests and monks perished. The Church was disestablished, religion was weeded out of the schools and universities, and a materialistic philosophy accompanied the establishment of Communism. Government schools where atheism was taught were opened for the education of the young people in the principles of Bolshevism. It was part of the revolutionary policy to divide the forces of the Church, encouraging a "Living Church" which would make terms with the forces of change. The illiterate, superstitious peasants clung to their traditional religion, but Soviet propaganda gradually wore down their opposition. Persecution and misery remain the lot of those who maintain active association with the Christian religion, for the Bolshevik philosophy is irreconcilable with the spirit of Christianity.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. What was the attitude of the Catholic Church toward learning in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?
2. Compare St. Vincent de Paul with Francis of Assisi.
3. Why were the Jesuits suppressed and why restored?
4. Explain the fortunes of Catholicism in France about 1800 and again about 1900.
5. In what sense is the Roman pope infallible? Was it a new doctrine at the Vatican Council?
6. Was the loss of temporal power a real misfortune to the Church? How long had that power lasted?
7. Who were the Old Catholics? What was the cause of the Kulturkampf?
8. What have been the relations between Church and State in Latin America? Has Catholicism been an asset or a liability?
9. How far has the Catholic Church in America been European and how far American?
10. Compare the attitude of Catholics and of fundamentalists toward modernism.

For class discussion or debate

1. Is the Roman Catholic Church incompatible with loyalty to American institutions?
2. Does the principle of Christian comity forbid the efforts of Protestant missionaries in Catholic countries, whether in Europe or Latin America?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral review

1. The Concordat with Napoleon
2. The Jesuits in Paraguay.
3. The Gallican Liberties.
4. Leo XIII.

For longer written essays

1. The procedure of Catholic disestablishment in France.
2. The modernism of George Tyrrell.
3. The spirit and policy of the Holy Synod of Russia in the nineteenth century.
4. The failure of the Old Catholics.

For conference and examination

1. The development of an American type of Catholicism.

For maps and tables

1. A map to show Catholic Europe in the nineteenth century.
2. A list of the popes since the French Revolution.
3. A list of the principal events in the rise and decline of papal temporal power.

READING REFERENCES

Sources

The Syllabus of Errors
Acts and Decrees of the Vatican Council
Encyclical Letters of Leo XIII

Secondary Guides

SLOAN. The French Revolution and Religious Reform
PRESSENSÉ. The Church and the French Revolution
NIELSON. History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century
NIPPOLD. The Papacy in the Nineteenth Century
MACCAFFREY. History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century
SIMPSON. French Catholics in the Nineteenth Century
DENIS. The Catholic Reaction in France
MANNING. The True Story of the Vatican Council
WILLIAMS. Newman, Pascal, Loisy, and the Catholic Church
SABATIER. Disestablishment in France
LOEPPERT. Modernism and the Vatican
TYRRELL. Through Scylla and Charybdis
SCHAFF. Our Fathers Faith and Ours, especially chapter 29
FORTESCUE. The Orthodox Russian Church
SPINKA. The Church and the Russian Revolution
FEDOTOFF. The Russian Church since the Revolution
GIBBONS. Faith of Our Fathers
CADOUX. Catholicism and Christianity
GALTON. Church and State in France

CHAPTER XXIX

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF DENOMINATIONALISM

THE ELEMENTS OF DENOMINATIONALISM

THE Catholic Church stood for unity of organization as a basic principle. Though it failed to preserve unity between East and West and early in its history was vexed by several divisions, like the Donatists and the Priscillianists, it was able to make good its unified system for several centuries of the Middle Ages. But there was always danger that protesting groups would arise like the Waldensians, who would perpetuate the spirit of insurgency, and the Protestants of the sixteenth century produced a division that could not be healed.

Protestants were characterized by diversity. In much of Germany and in Scandinavia the Lutherans were recognized by state or national governments. In Geneva, the Netherlands, and Scotland the Calvinists were supreme. In England the nation was organized religiously as the Church of England. Though the principle of private judgment in religion belonged to Luther in his best moods, he reacted intolerantly against the Anabaptists, and in other Protestant countries the same spirit of intolerance appeared against nonconformists in doctrine or polity. In spite of all Protestants could not agree and sects multiplied. Differences in race and in temperament, protests against traditionalism or radical change, the dominant personality of a leader or the power of a pregnant idea, were added to the primary principles of personal responsibility before God and the privilege of individual interpretation of the Bible as causes of denominationalism. Oftentimes small differences of Scriptural interpretation seemed vital, and produced divisions. Emphasis on mystical experience was a fruitful cause of separate association. Ecclesiastical questions were equally provocative with doctrinal questions. Sometimes a line of cleavage appeared between the inner emphasis and the stress on externals; again the division was accentuated by an overdependence on the intellectual side of human nature as opposed to the emotional

or the volitional. Natural tendencies to differ were intensified in America where after the colonial era people were free to think and speak and organize as they wished.

In America the spirit of independence encouraged a considerable shifting of church membership, and many people did not care to belong to any church. Yet religion was propagated through the churches, and the normal method of expressing religion was through the churches. Local isolation and small community organization tended to restrict interest largely to the local church. It was only as population increased, communication improved, and churches of the same kind multiplied that local churches drew together into closer relations. At the very beginning of Congregational organization in Massachusetts the Plymouth church sent delegates to offer fellowship to the newly organized church at Salem, and the ministers met in synod when necessary. But the Congregational churches long delayed the organization of permanent associations of churches, and it was not until 1705 that the Presbyterians organized their first presbytery at Philadelphia, and the Baptists in the same place created their first association in America two years later.

With the expansion of settlement and perfect freedom of action denominational ideas were transplanted from Europe and from the coast of America into the interior. The principal Protestant divisions of the Continent, Lutheran and Calvinistic, were transplanted, and the Church of England claimed the privileges of national establishment in the royal colonies. Sects which had sprung up in Europe and national or provincial varieties were welcomed, especially in Pennsylvania. New York became fertile territory for the origin and development of indigenous varieties. All of these were transplanted into the Middle West, until by the twentieth century that section of the country was most resplendent in its coat of denominational colors.

Churches which emphasized order and ritual constituted one type, those which stressed sin and the need of salvation another, and those which cared most for correct thinking made up a third. In all churches the minister was a marked figure, a real leader, and a recognized authority in religion. In the absence of restraining governments denominations exercised their authority as far as they had any over local churches either through bishops or presbyteries, or by means of special machinery created for the purpose, such as a council of neighboring churches. Episcopalians, Methodists, and

Presbyterians belonged to the first class; Baptists, Congregationalists, and Disciples to the second.

SECTS AND DENOMINATIONS

In the Old World, in spite of religious intolerance, certain sects gained a permanent footing. Among them were the Waldensians and the Bohemian Brethren, or Moravians, both of which began before the Lutheran Reformation. Huguenots in declining numbers clung to their faith in France. Many Mennonites remained in the Netherlands. Arminians affected theological thinking in their own country, and their doctrines captured the English Wesleys. Congregationalists and Baptists and Quakers arose in England. Later groups were the Schwenkfelders and Dunkards in Germany and the Swedenborgians in Sweden and England.

In the New World seven denominations emerged from the welter of varieties to places of importance. The Protestant Episcopal Church had the advantage of identity with the Church of England during the colonial period, which gave it precedence in the royal colonies south of the Potomac, and its orderliness and beauty of worship made it attractive to many people. The Dutch Reformed Church had a similar advantage in New Netherlands, and after the colony became English the Dutch Church divided honors with the Episcopalians. The Puritans had things their own way in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and promptly adopted Congregationalism as their preference. Baptists gained a foothold in Rhode Island and near Philadelphia, but their rapid expansion came only as evangelistic methods and an increasing religious freedom gave them opportunity and power. Presbyterians became prominent after the Scotch-Irish immigrants had invaded the interior counties of the Middle and Southern colonies. Lutherans were few until immigration from Germany and Scandinavia rapidly brought them to numerical distinction. The Methodists were negligible before the American Revolution but grew fast thereafter. The Disciples of Christ were differentiated early in the nineteenth century but gained rapidly in the interior of the country. Baptists and Methodists forged to the front in the nineteenth century because of their evangelistic spirit and methods and their appeal to the masses of the people, but they threw off a considerable number of separate groups which became minor denominations akin to the larger bodies. Lutherans and Presbyterians though less numerous suffered from the same divisive spirit.

Certain other groups became prominent because of peculiarities. The Adventists stressed the second coming of Christ, the Christian Scientists the power of mind to conquer the weaknesses of the flesh, the Mormons a special revelation from discovered tablets, the Spiritualists the power to converse with the spirit world. Unitarians separated from Congregationalists because of objection to certain doctrines, Universalists from Baptists and others because they believed in a more merciful God, the Salvation Army from the English Methodists because Booth wanted to use new methods of approach to the unchurched outcasts of society, the Volunteers of America from the Salvationists because of the too autocratic methods of the leader of the Army in England. Roman Catholics took their chances with Protestants in colonial days and profited from enormous immigration in the nineteenth century, but national differences made it difficult to keep Irish, French, Italians, and Poles in the same organization. Greek Catholics and even Oriental Christians also found their way to the United States and planted their churches. These all in a common rivalry propagated their own faith and in small communities struggled for a precarious existence.

Of the most influential denominations the Baptists and Methodists were long noted for their emotional power and their evangelism, often carried to excess among the colored people. The Disciples tended somewhat more to emphasize certain beliefs; the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians were insistent upon doctrine and were doubtful at first about evangelistic methods; Lutherans and Episcopalians jealously guarded the traditions which they had brought from Europe. The Episcopalians were most prosperous in the growing cities. The Disciples were mainly small-town folk in the Middle West. Congregationalists were confined chiefly to New England and the sections of the Middle States and the West to which New England emigrants went, while the Presbyterians were found in the other sections, especially in the middle latitudes. Lutherans were strong where the Germans were the most numerous and among the Scandinavians in the Northwest. Baptists and Methodists spread everywhere, the Baptists growing most rapidly in the South.

THE EPISCOPALIANS

In two respects the Episcopalians have precedence over other American denominations. They preserved more of Catholicism than others, and they were the first to make permanent settlement in the

English colonies. They were in Virginia in 1607, enjoyed the favor of colonial government from the beginning of the other Southern colonies, and slowly gained a foothold farther north. Until after the Revolution they retained organic connection with the Church of England. By 1789 they had come to constitute a fully organized denomination, with bishops who had been consecrated in Great Britain, a constitution, a prayer book, and a General Convention, which has met regularly once in three years. The Convention consists of a House of Bishops and a House of Delegates, both clerical and lay. The second house is elected by the dioceses. Both houses must concur in legislation for the denomination; at the same time they are the supreme executive and judicial authority. Every diocese was given power to hold its own convention, and to legislate on matters not provided for by the canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The parish remained the local unit of organization. The forms of worship, like those of the Anglican Church, are prescribed in the prayer book, and the ritualistic temper has been characteristic of the Episcopal mind. Originally influenced in its articles of faith by both Lutheran and Calvinistic belief, and later deeply affected by Arminianism, the Church of England bequeathed its creed to American Episcopalians, and they have varied in their interpretations, as have the three groups in the English Church. The High Church group has approached the Catholics in emphasis on the sacraments, on the historic episcopate, and on certain forms of worship. The Low Church group has been much closer to evangelical Protestants who care more for the Bible and a saving faith than they do for the relics of Catholicism. The Broad Church group has been inclined to liberal thinking and has been interested in social welfare.

The Episcopalians suffered from their English connection during the Revolution; and found it difficult to recover in a rough, democratic country, but after 1811 with the addition of new bishops, the advantage of growing freedom for all sects and distinctive principles, and practices which made a strong appeal to a certain sort of persons, the Church took on new life. Controversies arose over the issue of clerical or lay control; Northern and Southern Episcopalians nearly broke apart over slavery but recovered their unity after the Civil War; and in 1873 certain Low Churchmen who were friendly to other denominations and did not like the officialdom of the diocesan episcopate organized the Reformed Episcopal Church. As the Protestant Episcopal Church grew it carried on home and foreign

missions, planted churches in small communities, and became recognized as a Church of wealth and influence. It has been a leader in the attempt to bring about church unity both in the United States and abroad. According to the United States Census of 1926 the Protestant Episcopal Church included 1,859,086 members; the Reformed Episcopal Church had 8,651.

THE LUTHERANS

A few Lutherans settled in New Amsterdam as early as 1623, but only a few hundred Lutherans arrived in America before the eighteenth century. Lutherans and Calvinists mingled until Henry M. Muhlenberg gave to the Lutherans a denominational consciousness, and organized them with separate churches and a synod about 1750. For the next seventy years immigration was not large, and the Lutherans maintained their unity in spite of racial differences and geographical separation. In 1820 the General Synod was organized and included 23,000 adherents. Then many thousands of Germans came overseas, followed later by Scandinavians. Friction arose, and controversy and secession resulted in new organizations. Local churches had power to control their own affairs and some refused to join the Synod. Others all over the country which thought the General Synod too literal in its doctrinal interpretations and its relations with other denominations joined the Missouri Synod, the nucleus of a branch of the Lutherans known as the Synodical Conference. Between the two extremes was a third group organized in 1866 called the General Council. Besides these, five Southern synods organized separately during the Civil War, and the Norwegians organized their own church in 1890. All these branches of Lutheranism took the Augsburg Confession as the symbol of doctrine, but some of them required more.

The observance of the four hundredth anniversary of Luther's Ninety-five Theses emphasized their common faith, and efforts at the union of most of the Lutherans, except those in the Synodical Conference, were successful. The result was the United Lutheran Church dating from 1918. Lutherans have believed strongly in religious education and to that end have maintained parochial schools of their own and provided colleges and seminaries for numerous students. Affected by the rationalism and the secularism of Germany, they have sometimes neglected the deeper spiritual needs of the people, but they constitute a large element in the variegated complex-

ity of ecclesiastical America. According to the United States Census of 1926 Lutherans of all kinds numbered 4,355,367, of whom more than one-fourth are in the United Church.

THE PRESBYTERIANS

Since French and Dutch and Scotch Protestants were Presbyterians, it was certain that the people of that denomination would arrive early in American immigration. The first to come were a number of Huguenots. Later other nationalities came from the Continent, and Englishmen settled in the Middle colonies. The wave of Scotch-Irish in the eighteenth century greatly increased the numbers of Presbyterians. The first presbytery and the first synod were organized promptly, but differences of opinion about revivals and theology produced divisions, temporary and permanent. Cumberland Presbyterians cared less for an educated ministry than for revival methods and results. The Civil War broke the denomination apart.

By 1789 the Presbyterians were ready to complete their national organization with a general assembly, a system that closely resembled that of the representative democracy of the nation. The faith and order of Westminster were adopted by the denomination in America. Missionary interests soon brought Presbyterians into coöperation with the Congregationalists, but conservatives disliked the combination and it was ended inside of fifty years. Fifty years later questions of Biblical criticism and the growth of modernism generally caused heresy trials and much disputation. Early in the twentieth century Presbyterians were prompt to take an interest in social questions, being among the first to work actively for a better understanding with workingmen and to face the problems of rural churches and communities.

The various divisions of Presbyterians which had occurred in Scotland were perpetuated by representatives who crossed the Atlantic. A reunion of two of these produced the United Presbyterian Church. The Reformed churches of the Netherlands and of Germany kept their presbyterianism separate. The Reformed Church in America, as the Dutch came to be called, dates from the time of the settlement of the Dutch in New Amsterdam. German Reformed churches were planted along the Hudson in the next century, and for a time they were under the classis of Amsterdam, as were the colonial churches of the Dutch. Other German Calvinists settled in Pennsylvania and Virginia. In polity both groups were presbyterian.

The Germans organized their first synod in 1747 and in 1793 they became entirely independent of the Dutch. Both denominations have established schools and seminaries. Presbyterians numbered 2,625,284 according to the United States Census of 1926, the Reformed Church in the United States (Germans) 361,286, and the Reformed Church in America (Dutch) 153,729.

THE CONGREGATIONALISTS

Separating from the Anglican Church as the radical wing of the Puritans, the Congregationalists found themselves few in numbers. Episcopalians, Lutherans and Presbyterians had the prestige of powerful national movements, but Dissenters had no standing. After self-exile in Holland the first Congregationalists reached Plymouth in New England in 1620. Other Puritans who followed them to New England adopted the polity of the independence of the local church and a requirement of practical religion as a basis of membership. Congregationalism entrenched itself in the colonial government in Massachusetts and Connecticut until the nineteenth century.

Congregationalism grew in its own part of the country by natural extension into virgin territory until it crossed the continent. First among American Protestants to organize a foreign missionary society, the Congregationalists worked with the Presbyterians abroad as well as at home. Since every church was independent of every other, there was little but pride of heritage to hold them together. In the nineteenth century they organized district associations and state conferences of churches, and a National Council was organized permanently in 1871. Composed of ministerial and lay delegates from the churches, it represents their opinions and purposes, but it has no coercive power. The Council meets biennially and supplies intelligence, fellowship, and morals, and engages in the promotion of educational, evangelistic, missionary and other enterprises. Since the earliest days the Congregationalists have had their schools and colleges, sowing them thickly across the continent and in mission lands. Independent as they are, Congregationalists have been bothered less than Presbyterians or Lutherans by creedal differences, and the denomination has tended toward a rather liberal position in theology.

The Unitarians were at first the radical wing of the Congregationalists, but broke off and organized their denominational

machinery early in the nineteenth century. They have preserved the Congregational polity if not the ancient faith, and they prize education and social service as well as the more conservative body. According to the United States Census of 1926 Congregationalists number 881,696, and the Unitarians 60,152. Since then the merger of the Christian Connection with the Congregationalists has raised the joint membership to more than one million.

THE BAPTISTS

A few Baptist individuals came unheralded to America soon after the beginning of settlement. They had but just become differentiated from Congregationalists because of their objection to infant baptism. In the New World they organized first at Providence, Rhode Island, under the spur of Roger Williams who had championed in Massachusetts the separation of Church and State. Baptists in Massachusetts and Virginia were leaders in the struggle for religious liberty and church disestablishment.

Like most of the other colonial denominations, Baptists were Calvinists in their doctrine. In polity they were congregational, jealous of the independence of the local church, organizing associations but permitting no dictation from them, ordaining locally or with the advice of a council of delegates from neighboring Baptist churches. They were characteristically active in evangelism, adding to their numbers rapidly after the Revolution, and they developed a missionary spirit which gave them a place in the van of missionary progress in America and Asia. Insistent upon the evangelical experience of conversion, they admitted to membership only those who gave evidence of being qualified and baptized them by the ancient mode of immersion. They did not believe in baptismal regeneration. Less insistent on an educated ministry than some, they yet founded schools, colleges and theological seminaries, organized Sunday schools, and engaged in the usual religious activities.

From an early time several varieties of Baptists organized branches of their own. Some of the early immigrants were General Baptists rather than Calvinistic, and in 1780 a Freewill Baptist denomination came into existence with the same Arminian belief. Seventh Day Baptists, like Seventh Day Adventists, observed Saturday as a holy day instead of the Christian Sunday. A number of colonial Baptists believed the laying of hands on a candidate for membership as necessary as baptism, and were called Six Principle Baptists. Primitive Baptists objected to such modern machinery as

missions, Sunday schools, and paid and trained ministers. The slavery issue divided the denomination sectionally.

Baptists like Congregationalists were slow to provide a national machinery of organization other than missionary. Southern Baptists organized a Convention in 1845, but not until 1907 did the Northern Baptist Convention come into existence, uniting associations and state conventions in a common bond. The local churches remain independent, for the conventions are only for fellowship and administrative efficiency. The United States Census for 1926 credited the Baptists of all varieties with 8,440,922 members.

DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

The denomination officially named Disciples of Christ, but often called Christians and sometimes Campbellites, because of the original leadership of Thomas Campbell and his son Alexander, was of Presbyterian parentage, but its closest connection was with the Baptists. It originated in the Campbell mind as a Christian association of those who were willing to take the Bible as a sufficient guide and to try to reunite all Christians on that constitutional basis. The movement was to be a Bible reformation. The original local Christian Association in Pennsylvania planted about 1810 failed to be an efficient propagating agent, and adopting the Baptist mode of baptism the Campbellites were absorbed by the Baptists. But differences soon arose, separation occurred, and presently the Disciples were another denomination. They attracted a considerable number of small groups on the southern border and grew rapidly to a prominent position.

Several other small groups coalesced about the same time into a new denomination with the same purpose, which came to be called the Christian Connection. A good many of them were absorbed by the Disciples; a more recent merger has combined them with the Congregationalists.

The Disciples became one of the large denominations in the central part of the United States. In doctrine they were evangelical, in polity congregational. They have state conventions and a national body like the Congregationalists and Baptists. They did not forget their original purpose of making denominations obsolete, and they have produced leaders who have pushed the cause of Christian union. The denomination has had less trained leadership than some of the other denominations, but it has maintained the same kind of educational institutions as others, and in recent years through the *Christian*

Century has been an influential exponent of modern ideas in religion. The United States Census of 1926 gave the Disciples 1,377,595 members.

METHODISTS

The followers of John Wesley who left the Anglican Church in the eighteenth century were numerous and zealous. With active convictions and new and effective methods they won new adherents, and wherever they went they had the missionary spirit. They had the disadvantage of a late start in America, but in the nineteenth century they forged rapidly to the front. Their class leaders maintained the morale of the people in the churches, and their circuit riders kept pace with the frontier. They were handicapped by finding the communities provided with churches of other denominations, but they invariably found some people who responded to their appeal, and Methodist churches became ubiquitous. For some time they could not stop for educational institutions, but when they began to plant them they applied the same vigor and efficient method as in other departments, and soon made up for any educational deficiencies.

Methodists originated in England when the Anglican Church had become deficient in its allegiance to Calvinism, and their Arminianism gave them an advantage of evangelistic appeal in America over Calvinistic branches which taught an election of only an élite to salvation, and the sinfulness and helplessness of every human being. Methodist organization was patterned closely after that of the Church of England out of which it came, but in England there were no bishops. In America superintendents soon became bishops, but over regions for administration by appointment of the General Conference, not over dioceses as permanent Episcopal clergy. Local churches are united in annual conferences of all the ministers and certain lay delegates within a convenient area, and a general conference meets quadrennially for a session of several weeks. The denomination has been organized and administered thoroughly and efficiently, and the denominational consciousness of the Methodists has been well sustained. In missions at home and abroad, in education, and in active participation in movements for human welfare the Methodists have been prominent and efficient. Their Centenary celebration and their acquired fund set the pace for similar drives and observances.

Methodists broke into divisions several times over the question of lay representation in the higher assemblies and over the matter of episcopal administration. The two most important separations were that of the Methodist Protestants in 1830, who separated for those reasons, and that of the Southern Methodists who withdrew on account of the slavery issue at about the same time as the similar division of the Baptists took place. Neither division was easy to heal. Besides several branches of Colored Methodists, several small bodies persist under various names. The United States Census of 1926 credited Methodists of all kinds with 8,070,629 members.

DENOMINATIONALISM IN EUROPE

Denominationalism had little opportunity to expand in Continental Europe where Catholic and national Protestant churches had the right of way. Some groups persisted, like the Moravians and the Mennonites; others are the result of missionary activity by the Free Churches of England or the United States. Wherever disestablishment of the old religious order has taken place the Free Churches with their intense spiritual vigor and their simpler and more satisfying gospel have a distinct advantage. Baptists, Congregationalists, and Methodists have all been active, besides smaller bodies like Adventists and Christian Scientists, but they have not gathered large numbers. Methodists have enjoyed a growth which gives them a membership of more than 92,000, while Baptists have found four million immersionists in Russia who are akin to them.

In England and Wales are two million members in the Free Churches, with as many more church adherents. In England the Wesleyan Methodists number half a million, Congregationalists 450,000, and Baptists 413,000, with Presbyterians, Unitarians, Quakers, and others in lesser numbers. They resemble their fellow denominationalists in the United States in general, but their relation to the Established Church of England gives them a political bias that is absent in America. The evangelical churches have been earnestly missionary and maintain schools and philanthropic enterprises such as are characteristic of modern Christian people. In Wales the Episcopal Church was disestablished in 1920 by virtue of a British parliamentary act of 1914, but it has ample property and numbers about 160,000 communicants. The Calvinistic Methodists, who constitute the Presbyterian Church of Wales, is the strongest denomination with 187,000 members, while other evangelical

denominations are well represented. Scotland has continued overwhelmingly Presbyterian with a Free Kirk almost as large as the State Church and reunited with it in 1929. Ireland is Catholic, except for 105,000 Presbyterians chiefly in Ulster, but both countries contain numerous Episcopalians.

UNDENOMINATIONALISM

The limit of value in denominationalism was certain to come when it began to seem as if the common good in Christianity outweighed diverse opinions about it and varying methods of doing religious work. The importance of the common task led to the organization of certain undenominational agencies early in the nineteenth century by those individuals who were willing to give interest and support to Sunday schools, missions, Bible distribution, and philanthropy. But the denominations continued on their separate way in most respects, and most coöperative missionary societies became purely denominational. After the American Civil War Presbyterian divisions combined in the North and the South, minimizing the doctrinal differences that had agitated Old Side and New Side. Methodists found a way to unite some of their forces in England. In both England and America Christians of different names united in the Young Men's Christian Association and later in the Young Women's Christian Association on an undenominational but evangelical basis, and in 1881 the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor voiced a desire for undenominational unity. Before the middle of the century individuals in England and America were urging an organization of evangelical Protestants which would stimulate spiritual and humanitarian endeavor and create a feeling of Christian unity, and as a result the Evangelical Alliance was launched in 1846. For fifty years it carried on its programs of rather limited scope and served as a reminder of Christian unity.

As the nineteenth century waned the feeling increased that the evils of separatism demanded new methods of coöperation. Local rivalries with more churches and ministers than were needed in many places and lack of them in other places; waste of money and time and effort through unnecessary duplication and purposeless effort; lack of a spirit of fellowship and agencies for coöperation, were all reminders of weakness in the ranks of the Christian people at a time when irreligion, ignorance, social evils of various sorts, and a rapidly changing world, required the energy and efficiency of

organization that only united endeavor could supply. Expression of these convictions began to be heard in private conversation, at church conferences, and even in sessions of the Evangelical Alliance.

FEDERATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Before anything could be attempted on a national scale local federations of churches began to come into existence. In 1895 a federation was formed in New York City, which promptly proved its worth and suggested the value of a national organization. In 1902 the churches of Massachusetts, including the liberal bodies, organized a state federation. In a tentative way a national federation was created of certain local churches and individuals and out of that grew the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, which was fully organized in Philadelphia in 1908. The Federal Council was a marked step in advance, because it was an organization of denominations rather than of single churches and interested individuals. Its directors wisely decided that it could gain the confidence of Christian people and make progress, not by an attempt to find a common basis of doctrine, except their common faith in Jesus Christ and his ideals, but by coöperation in a common task, which was large enough to challenge their utmost goodwill and ability. About thirty of the American denominations joined in the Federation including all the large ones except the Southern Baptists and the Episcopalians who partially coöperated. With a new sense of freedom and fellowship and in the spirit of service the new organization felt its way cautiously, careful to avoid giving offense and to commend itself to its constituency.

When it was only half through its second quadrennium the Federal Council found itself facing the perplexing problems growing out of war in Europe, and three years later the United States was involved. It proved itself of value in tying up the churches in war-time activities, and after the war it helped in various measures of reconstruction. Meantime it had organized its departments and commissions, was engaging in social research, in united evangelism, in creating better feeling between Americans and the Oriental races, and in studying and publishing the findings regarding the outlook after the war in the churches and in society. It encouraged the formation of local and state federations all over the country, and perfected its own machinery as taught by experience. The organization is guided by an administrative committee. It is maintained by

private gifts and by the hearty coöperation of its denominational constituents, and it has gained in general confidence and esteem through its first two decades of history.

A growing appreciation of the gigantic task of Christianizing America and foreign countries led to the formation of two organizations which have been very useful in coördinating missionary activities. The Foreign Missionary Conference was organized first by the missionary board of the different denominations and it worked so well that nearly sixty boards and societies of the United States and Canada were represented at the meeting of the conference in 1927. It has created a warm spirit in comity, has made certain joint undertakings possible, and has fostered Christian unity among native Christians in mission lands. That spirit has resulted in native churches in India, Japan, and China, which tend to obliterate denominational lines of division and become simply churches of Christ. The example of the Foreign Missions Conference inspired women's foreign mission boards to organize in a similar federation, and the coöperative movement culminated in the International Missionary Council which completed its organization in 1921, and took over all the continuation work of the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910.

With a similar purpose the Home Missions Council was organized in 1908 by officers of a few boards, and within ten years it had come to include thirty-four boards and societies representing thirteen denominations. The Council of Women for Home Missions got together representatives of twenty-one different denominations and the two councils coöperated actively. At first these organizations were content to gather information and plan for specific coöperation, but as they grew more confident they ventured to provide for the oversight of all the territory of certain Western states by allocating different sections to particular denominations for their responsibility, and avoided duplication of effort by gentlemen's agreements. It proved possible also to provide better for missionary work among new Americans, among casual workers on the farms, and among the Indians. In Christian education in Latin America as well as in the United States the same spirit of comity and coöperation has prevailed. Interdenominational councils in ten or more states are working on the same principles. Back in 1903 those who were interested in the problems of religious education united to form the Religious Education Association without any regard for denominational lines. About 1908 representatives of the denominations began to meet

together to discuss the problems of rural churches in America, with results that have been extending continually, especially through the American Country Life Association.

One ambitious enterprise failed to win general approval. This was the Interchurch World Movement, which was launched by the missionary, educational, and other benevolent agencies of the evangelical churches in 1918. With a large vision such as the war facilitated and with a sense of the greatness of the task, its leaders planned a concerted attempt to get adequate volunteers and funds to finance the enterprise on an unprecedented scale. A financial drive was made with a remarkable response from the churches, but the returns from friendly citizens which were expected to finance the rapidly extending bureaucracy failed to materialize. This failure together with a tendency to the arbitrary promotion of the movement and popular distrust of it, led to its collapse. Some of the results of its labors were conserved by the organization of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, which was privately organized and financed.

Perhaps the most ambitious attempt yet made in America to promote church union was the Philadelphia Plan originated by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1918. A conference was brought together in Philadelphia at which eighteen denominations were represented, which appointed an ad interim committee of one member from each denomination to draw up a plan for organic union. The resultant plan was adopted at a second gathering held in the same city in 1920. In brief it provided for the creation of the United Churches of Christ in America, an organization which was to act through a council and commissions of judicial boards to be appointed by the council. The duties of the council were to be to harmonize the work of the united churches, and to decide on matters of mutual interest which might be submitted to the council by the constituent denominations. Only the Congregationalists approved the decisions of the Conference of 1920. Other denominations felt that the people of the United States were not yet ready to enter into a corporate unity such as was proposed, even though a large degree of autonomy was left to each denomination.

EUROPE AND INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION

The example of the Federal Council in America and its intimate relation with the churches of Europe suggested the organization of similar federations there. In 1922 a conference of evangelical

churches met at Copenhagen in company with representatives of the American Council, and created the Central Bureau for Relief of Evangelical Churches of Europe, which included in its purpose a better understanding and coöperation of all the churches. The Swiss Federation of Churches which was already in existence undertook the responsibility of executive direction. In the brief space of a few years it showed its capacity to undertake constructive plans, and it has served as a clearing house for the Christian opinion of Europe and America. Besides its cordial relation with the Federal Council it has maintained connections with the Christian Social Movement in France, the Evangelical Social Congress in Germany, the Copeck Movement in England, the Institute for Social and Religious Research in the United States, the Continental Conference for Inner Mission in the Netherlands, and the International Labor Office of the League of Nations at Geneva.

Several countries of Europe organized national federations. These included France, Belgium, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia and Spain. The National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches had been organized in England as early as 1895. It developed out of a sense of a common fellowship in Christian work, and it was intended to strengthen their position, to make it easier to counsel together, to stimulate the common task of missions, and to maintain their rights to freedom in religious thought and action.

The constant threat to international peace led to the formation of the Church Peace Union through the efforts of Andrew Carnegie and its meeting at Constance on the eve of the war. Out of the conference came the World Alliance for International Fellowship through the Churches, which looked to the creation of an international consciousness which in time might banish the scourge of war. The organization has undertaken to form a national council in every country where Christianity has gained a foothold. In the United States the Alliance has worked in close harmony with the Federal Council's Commission on International Justice and Goodwill. A considerable number of organizations of world-wide scope are also contributing to a better Christian spirit in Europe. Such are the International Missionary Council, the World's Sunday School Association, the World's Christian Endeavor Union, the World Brotherhood Federation, the World's Student Christian Federation, and the international alliances of the leading Protestant denominations.

A spontaneous feeling that Protestant Christians of all countries

ought to renew their Christian purpose in a general conference after the war resulted in several suggestions for such a gathering. Plans were made and the Universal Christian Conference in Life and Work met at Stockholm in 1925. The invitations were all inclusive, and more than one hundred branches of the Christian Church were represented. For three weeks the Conference studied the task of the Church, facing its obligations to the social and economic problems of nations and to the world at large and its difficulties, considering Christian education, and the methods of coöperation among the denominations. It resulted in an acceleration of interest in such matters through northern and southern Europe, and its continuation committee has served as a coördinating agency for organizations especially concerned with theological education, with social and industrial questions, and with the problem of youth.

Two years after the Stockholm Conference another gathering was held to try to find a common basis of faith and order. This was so much more difficult than to get together for service that most people were skeptical as to its value. But Episcopalians for many years had been interested in the problem and had taken initial steps years before. As early as 1867 Episcopal bishops from both hemispheres had met in Lambeth Conference in England, and had held five similar sessions at intervals of about ten years. At the third meeting in 1888 the Lambeth Quadrilateral, originally adopted by the American bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church meeting at Chicago two years earlier, was proposed as a basis for the union of Christian churches. The four planks in the platform were the acceptance of the Bible as the revealed word of God, the Nicene Creed as a sufficient formula of faith, the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and the historic episcopate. American Congregationalists responded cordially to the overtures, some even proposing to find a way for making their ministerial ordination satisfactory to Episcopalians. Others were more hesitant, shy as they were of the historic episcopate. The 1920 Lambeth Conference still further paved the way for an amicable discussion, and the Alliance of Reformed Churches throughout the World holding the Presbyterian System responded favorably. This friendly disposition made possible the World Conference on Faith and Order at Lausanne in 1927. Protestant representatives came from everywhere and the Eastern Orthodox churches were represented, but as always the Roman Catholic Church refused to join on any basis other than a recogni-

tion of the headship of Rome. The sessions were notable for an honest attempt to find a common basis of unity, but it was plain that the gulf between the Eastern Orthodox churches and the Protestants of western Europe was too wide to bridge and that more time was necessary before Episcopal and non-Episcopal churches could get within sight of the goal, especially if the youth of the churches was so conspicuously absent.

The Lambeth conferences were but one attempt to bring together representatives from a single body of Christians. Methodists organized an Ecumenical Conference in 1881, Congregationalists an International Council in 1891, Baptists a World Alliance in 1905, the Lutherans a World Convention in 1923, and the Alliance of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System tied together in a single bond people of different names though of the same faith. Sunday schools, young people's societies, vacation Bible schools, and other Christian enterprises are organized internationally. Increasingly the leaders of the Christian forces of the world are conscious of the necessity of united action in the face of the stupendous task of creating a Christian order among the people of the world.

The history of the Christian people through nineteen centuries is a story of widening horizons, of multiplied energy, of ever greater undertakings and significant achievements. Starting from Jerusalem, the Christian Church has reached out into all parts of the world. Simple in its organization, its doctrine and its cultus at the beginning, it has created machinery for its various needs, formulated creeds and confessions for various types of mind, tempered worship to the moods and emotions of all kinds of folk, couched its message in language that can play on the strings of every human heart, and accepted as its task the conversion and education of all the races to the idea and the ideals of the kingdom of God on earth as in heaven. Forms have changed but basic principles remain. Names of sects and churches appear and disappear, but Christianity continues. Persons and programs have their day and pass away, but the Master of men maintains His preëminence. The history of the Christian people still is in the making. The goal is still the same yesterday, to-day, and to the end of time.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. What were the causes of denominationalism?
2. Contrast the Old World sects with the denominations of America.

3. Appraise Christian Science.
4. Classify the denominations by their special appeals and their psychology.
5. Sketch Episcopal history in the United States.
6. How have Congregationalists differed from Presbyterians, and both from Baptists?
7. What were the likenesses and the differences between Baptists and Methodists?
8. What is the history of the Disciples of Christ?
9. How has federation succeeded in England and America?
10. Which is more promising as a basis of union: the Lambeth proposals or the Stockholm Conference? Why?

For class discussion or debate

1. Is organic union feasible in the United States?
2. Are the values in denominationalism equal to the liabilities?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral review

1. The Edinburgh Missionary Conference in 1910.
2. The Lausanne Conference.
3. Christian Federation in India.
4. The World Student Christian Federation.

For longer written essays

1. The psychological differences underlying Methodists and Unitarians.
2. Causes of Episcopal growth in the United States in the twentieth century.
3. The movement for church union in Canada.
4. History of the Interchurch World Movement.

For conference and examination

1. Recurrent opposition to infant baptism in Christian history.

For maps and tables

1. A map to show the progress of any one of the denominations since its American beginnings.
2. A list of the principal organized undertakings for church federation and union since 1900.
3. A chart to show the relative membership of the Protestant denomination in the United States.

READING REFERENCES

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CHAPTER XXX

CURRENT PROBLEMS

OLD WORLD ECCLESIASTICISM

THE task of the churches since the World War has been to rebuild the shattered faith in the Eternal Goodness. The experiences of the people of Europe since 1914 have been productive of skepticism and the recovery of spiritual morale has been slow. The Catholic Church lost less than the Protestant churches. In Germany the Catholics gained hundreds of churches, schools, and hospitals while the Protestants were closing scores of theirs. The defeat of Germany was a blow to Protestantism, because that nation was its strongest bulwark on the Continent. The rise of Poland and other new nations with Catholic sympathies was an asset to the Catholic Church. The alert, shrewd Catholic leaders have been quick to take advantage of the trend of feeling toward the sturdy and confident mother whose help was not needed in time of prosperity. Sick at heart and disillusioned, thousands of Catholics have become loyal once more, the more readily because they have seen hundreds of priests fighting in the ranks with laymen and as willing to die for their country. The reaction in favor of the Church has been particularly evident in France.

Yet the Catholic Church loses steadily because secularism, socialism, and modernism take their toll of converts. The spirit of the modern age does not fit the genius of medievalism. Pius IX put the Church on record against socialism. And the Church has spoken in no uncertain tones against modern criticism. When the thoughtful people have recovered their courage, they will go their own ways once more. The Church has been able by concordats to improve its relations with a number of national governments and monastic institutions have recovered lands that they had lost, but even Catholic states are ready to take advantage of opportunities to keep the Church from becoming too strong.

The World War resulted in the disestablishment of national

churches in Germany and Russia, and it aggravated the situation of churches in Rumania, Poland, and several other countries. Thrown on the voluntary support of the people, their fortunes were uncertain. It was encouraging that the people in general organized in a people's church on a coöperative basis rather than in rival denominations on a confessional basis. With hostile governments in some cases, particularly in Russia, the future of organized religion was dubious. The Soviet Government in Russia was uncompromisingly opposed to the Christian religion and persecuted the clergy of the Orthodox Church, as pagan Rome persecuted the early Christians. The poverty of professors and students in the theological schools and the necessity of ceasing the publication of many learned reviews gravely handicapped education in Germany. The number of theological students decreased one-half. This added to the dearth of ministers due to the death of hundreds during the war.

Protestant churches are suffering from a general pessimism, which has spread over the Continent. Opinions are divided as to the proper activities of the Church, but there is no difference of opinion that the Church is moribund. It is criticized freely by those who have not liked its close relation with the State and its submission to a clerical leadership that too often is lacking in spiritual energy. It is well understood that organized religion is ultraconservative and has little real influence with the people. Signs are not lacking in Sweden and the Netherlands and among certain Germans of an awakening to new values in religion, but the general lethargy is discouraging. The theological group led by Karl Barth with its crisis theology is skeptical about any rejuvenation of the old ecclesiasticism and prefers a voluntary congregationalism. It is opposed to any attempt to use a social gospel for the creation of a better social order, as it is opposed to liberalism in theological thinking. It prefers a transcendent to an immanent God and frets against the modern emphasis on humanism.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

The attitude of disillusionment has been especially pronounced among the youth of the Continent. Some of them were cheated by the war out of the best that their youth could give, happiness, health, and even life itself. Some have reacted in a spirit of hostility to political government and have joined in the movement to substitute a social democracy. Two hundred and fifty thousand of them organized the Social Democratic Youth International in 1923, combining

thirty-three national movements. They stand for social and cultural activities for the development of youth as well as for political reform. A second class of youth, more radically inclined, formed in 1919 the Communistic Youth International, a movement which soon declined in Europe but has grown popular in the East. It centers at Moscow.

Certain other organizations are purely cultural. Some of these had their origin before the World War, embodying the desire of youth for greater freedom, developing a *cameraderie* of the open air, and holding conferences and working for international fellowship. Others are frankly religious as well as cultural. The largest of these is the Catholic Youth International, which had its inception in a conference at Rome in 1921. It has gathered a membership of approximately three million, interested in the promotion of the Church and of education. Other national Catholic organizations are active on a smaller scale. Among Protestants are the young people's organizations familiar in Great Britain and America, but specially noteworthy has been the popularity of the World's Student Christian Federation. This organization, which had started before the war broke out, was able to maintain its unity throughout the conflict, and its success since the war has made it a factor of importance in cementing friendship among the youth of the different nations. The objects of the Federation are to promote acquaintance and friendship among university students, to deepen their religious interest, and to further the cause of internationalism. It has published five thousand books and pamphlets, holds conferences and retreats, and maintains a hundred buildings as local and national headquarters. The influence of the Federation against the seductions of secularism has proved valuable, and it is a distinct asset to religion.

The Youth Movement presents the problem of contrary attitudes toward the Christian religion, the risks of freedom and the appeal to a life of nature, and a tendency to revert to the ethics of paganism, but it is a yearning for a life of fuller meaning and richer experience, and a willingness to face responsibility. It is still an open question whether any of the churches can attract and use this dynamic of youthful enthusiasm.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE CHURCH

The new relation between Church and State in several of the nations of the Continent has created a problem of education. Religious education reverted to the Church as its special function. Gov-

ernments were indifferent or hostile. The impoverished Christian people had to provide schools, equipment and teachers, and there was danger that all the evils of denominational institutions would follow the establishment of religion on a voluntary basis. Similarly theological education, thrown out of the universities in some cases, had to be provided for in theological seminaries.

Missions were affected seriously by the war. Organized by voluntary groups of people in the churches, they were not strong enough to meet the exigencies of war times, and at the close of the war three thousand German missionaries were no longer welcome in former German colonies. Had it not been for the coöperative spirit among the societies and aid rendered by English and Americans many of the missions would have perished altogether. It is still a problem to establish firmly those institutions which have suffered during the years of disturbance. The Inner Mission enterprise, which was started for religious and social betterment in the larger communities of western and central Europe, and which has had a remarkable development in the administration of charity, suffered irreparable loss in many of its centers, and its recovery remains a serious problem.

The Christian people of Europe have been less ready than Americans to entrust the temperance movement to political legislation. The consciousness of the evils of the drink traffic deepens, and experiments of various kinds have been undertaken in recent years. The Scandinavian countries have tried the principle of local option in the hope of checking intemperance, and an international conference was held in 1924. The Germans have been unwilling to face the temperance question as a task of the Church, and indifference rules in Austria and France. Finland maintains national prohibition, and the Russian Government hopes to indoctrinate the masses of the people in temperance principles. In southern Europe the production of wines introduces the economic element into the problem. It cannot be said that the present time holds out much promise for greater sobriety on the Continent.

The traditional attitude of the churches on the Continent toward the organized attempt of working people to better their fortunes has not been cordial. The Marxian principles of materialism and economic law alienated the churches from the socialist movement, and the attempts of certain churchmen to find a more friendly approach in Christian socialism have not been reciprocated by the proletarians and their friends. The Continental conception of the kingdom of

God as belonging to the future and not to the present world hinders any feeling of responsibility of the churches to improve the economic and social order. Individuals in the churches have labored for international peace and friendship through the Church Peace Union and similar organizations, and some there are who have been converted to thoroughgoing pacifism, but the national spirit is strong and the pacifiers are few.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

In England the national church has continued to feel the influence of the currents of the nineteenth century. The High Church movement which started at Oxford with the Tractarians fathered Anglo-Catholicism and remains powerful in church circles. Social reforms have enlisted many of the rank and file as well as the leaders. But there is too much attention given to the forms of religion, such as the attempted revision of the prayer book, to please those who are less ritualistic and institutional. Missionary societies within the Church interest a part of the people, and temperance and social reform appeal to others. The Church as a whole has stood for high standards of education, for an appreciation of the value of the æsthetic in religion, for a measure of mystical devotion, and for the ideal of Christian unity. The Lambeth conferences have contributed to the discussion of the last problem, but have not found a practicable remedy for disunity. Theological differences accentuate historical differences. Evangelicals do not agree with modernists, but the Fundamentalist controversy is far less acute than in America. Differences in social attitudes create still further confusion. The Churchmen's Union has done most to help the social movement.

THE FREE CHURCHES

The Free Churches of England inherit the traditions of three centuries of nonconformity, and for that reason have found it difficult to respond heartily to Lambeth or other proposals for reunion. The historic episcopate is especially odious. But they were able to find a common ground of federation on the principle of Nonconformist coöperation and in 1892 the National Free Church Council was formed. Common interests as against the Establishment have given them a fellow feeling. The members of the Free churches in England and Wales number two million, and more than that number are connected as adherents. The last decade has brought slow gains

to the churches, especially outside of London. The Wesleyan Methodists remain the largest group.

On the Continent the Free churches had their origin either in the Anabaptist or Moravian movements of past centuries or in the missionary endeavors during the nineteenth century. They have been more active evangelistically than the confessional churches, and are not cordially liked by their rivals. The problems of the Free churches are to obtain resources in funds and in trained leaders, and to escape the evils that have fallen upon the older churches.

THE SHIFT OF POPULATION FROM COUNTRY TO CITY

One of the baffling problems of modern society is that of shifting populations. In Europe and in the Atlantic states of America millions of people have abandoned the homes of their fathers and gone forth to seek better fortunes elsewhere. The English Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century introduced an era of profound change in the conditions of labor, change which came first in England and later on the Continent and in America. The concentration of manufacturing in factories in the larger towns compelled the workers to give up the domestic manufacturing which they carried on concurrently with agriculture. The modern industrial town began to grow like an adolescent boy. A half century later the people of Europe began to sense the opportunities of the American continent and to find their way in increasing numbers overseas. Such emigration presented a problem to the communities from which they went. The family left behind by the emigrant sometimes fared better than before because of the money that came from America, but the loss of citizens depleted the resources of the community.

In America the shift of workers to the towns did not begin until the nineteenth century was nearly half over, but a greater emigration went from the Atlantic seaboard to the Middle West. Unlimited opportunities for agricultural expansion in the fertile valleys of the interior proved a perennial lure to the farmer who felt cramped on his New England acres or who owned no broad plantation on the southern rivers. The result was a procession of emigrants westward, first to the prairies and then to the cattle ranges and the mining country farther west. The depletion of the communities from which they went was serious, but it became more so when the shift of population was accentuated by the attraction of the city. It resulted in a two-fold problem for the churches. In the rural villages and the open

country ensued a struggle for existence. In the cities the churches were faced with the challenge of an opportunity to expand, if they met the needs of the newcomers. The cities were growing not only through manufacturing but also by means of commerce and trade. The goods that were being produced must be sold over the counter or for distribution farther away. Stores and offices multiplied. Railroad lines stretched out into the country and on to other cities. Wealth increased, and some of it found its way into the churches. Better edifices were built, better salaries were paid to better ministers, better methods began to be tried in church finance and administration.

Three specific problems became acute in America as a result of the shift of population: the problem of the rural church, the problem of the urban church, and the problem of the immigrant.

THE RURAL PROBLEM

The rural problem has not been confined to any single region. The Atlantic seaboard north of the Potomac felt the changes most acutely. The rural villages of New England especially suffered from the double emigration to the West and to the city. Most of them had enjoyed the luxury of several churches of different denominations, each relying on voluntary support. Their strongest resources were in the sturdy youth and young married people of the community, but they were leaving and they never came back to stay. On the western frontier the newcomer had to use every dollar of money and every ounce of energy which he possessed, and in the cities new responsibilities took the place of earlier and older duties to the rural church and community at home. The result was the decline of the rural churches in the East and later in many parts of the Middle West, until hundreds of churches were compelled to close their doors and in not a few communities organized religion ceased altogether to function. The religious mind of the rural community was not inventive or resourceful; its temper was conservative, and the prospects of religious revival were slight.

In the South most of the rural churches never have been able to maintain worship or keep a settled minister. The churches therefore remained weak and lethargic except in periods of religious excitement. In the open areas of the West large areas were unchurched because of the scarcity of population, and many people lost their interest in religion altogether. As a result of these conditions the official boards of the denominations became concerned for the future

of religion in the American countryside. State and national home mission societies surveyed the situation and began to hold conferences that plans might be worked out for meeting the problem. Educators and agricultural leaders similarly began to agitate for better schools and better farms. The national Government took an interest in the matter and made a nation-wide survey. Then they began a process of galvanizing the rural school and the rural church into new energy. Experiments of uplifting a people who did not feel a need of being uplifted went on apace. A great deal of talk was indulged in at conventions and conferences, and theological seminaries introduced training courses for the rural ministry. Special attempts were made to eliminate unnecessary duplication of churches by denominational exchanges, by federation, and by the organization of larger parishes of several coöperating communities, officered by an efficient staff. As yet these efforts are in the experimental stage, but the churches are conscious of the problem, and churchmen who are interested do not allow the others to forget it.

THE PROBLEM OF THE CITY

The rapid growth of commercial and industrial centers has been a most disturbing factor in the life of the last hundred years. Few cities in the Old World had a population of 100,000 in the early nineteenth century, and in America life was almost entirely rural. But change came with startling rapidity. As factories and counting-houses called for workers the country responded and news of the opportunities for fortune went overseas. All kinds of social institutions were established to meet their needs. Churches multiplied as the cities grew, and many of them became prosperous. People were making money, they liked to identify themselves and their families with the Church, and they were responsive to new ideas and new methods. Until nearly the end of the nineteenth century religion in the city seemed to present no very serious problems. But with the expansion of population into suburbs and even farther out as rapid transit improved, the churches downtown began to lose. As the American constituents moved out a different population moved in. Catholics in large numbers filled the downtown wards as immigration increased, especially from southern and eastern Europe. They complicated social problems by their different languages and customs. Frequently acute problems in poverty and charity resulted, and social and religious antagonism developed easily.

Most of the churches had to move out to the residential section where their members were or adapt themselves to the New Americans. The large majority moved away. A few adopted the methods of the "institutional church," organizing clubs and classes and various activities to attract people who were out of contact with the churches. Benevolently-minded people supported these ministries, remembering the day perhaps when they came to the city penniless but with high hopes. Numerous helpful agencies sprang up alongside the churches—the Young Men's Christian Association, boys' clubs, settlements, and charity organizations. As in the case of the rural problem the home mission societies interested themselves in the urban problem. They were alarmed at the influx of scores of thousands of foreigners who settled in the congested districts of Eastern cities. They feared for American ideals and ways of living. They remembered the religious and racial conflicts of Europe. Particularly did they fear the Catholic Church. Quickly they organized foreign departments, hoping to make friends of the New Americans and to interpret to them the best of American life. The missionary societies employed men and women of their own races who had become adjusted to America, opened rooms where they could meet for worship and instruction, and organized churches and Christian centers among them. Such foreign-speaking churches enjoyed fellowship with American organizations and usually received substantial aid and superintendence. In time most of them became full-fledged American churches.

RESCUE MISSIONS

Certain persons are always to be found in the drift of city life who have lost their power to take care of themselves. Flotsam and jetsam tossed on the tide of circumstance, they need a helping hand to lift them out of their environment, strengthen their wills, and give them a talisman to guide them into a safe harbor. The rescue missions of the city came into existence to save such human derelicts. The process of salvage was attempted by locating mission halls on a downtown street, frequently in close proximity to a saloon. Men were taken out of the gutter and set on their feet and they in turn helped others. John B. Gough became a powerful temperance lecturer. Jerry McAuley, a notorious criminal, started a mission in New York City in 1872, which won friends and saved hundreds of apparently hopeless shipwrecks. More ambitious were the city mission

societies under denominational auspices, organized to give more effectual help to the poorer sections of the city as a whole. They were more charitable agencies than the rescue mission, and they went to the people in their homes and kept in contact with them while they were learning self-help.

COMPLEXITY OF URBAN RELIGIOUS LIFE

Everywhere the urban churches had to meet serious competition. The demands of business and industry absorbed people during the day and at night the demands of recreation called loudly to those who were tired and listless and yearning for freedom and gaiety and companionship. Throngs of young people away from home went where they could meet one another and enjoy themselves. The church had few social attractions to offer. The church sociable was a dull affair even before the moving picture houses brought their thrills. The theater, the music hall, and the skating rink offered their lure to thousands. It did not help the churches with the young people that such amusements were frowned upon by many, and multitudes of people drifted away from all connection with religion.

The churches suffered the competition of different sects and of the strange cults which came with the years. There was room in the city for all the varieties of religion which America had produced, from Catholics to Adventists, and in certain residential wards the rivalry was so keen that churches vied with one another to draw away their legitimate adherents. The atmosphere of the city was favorable to the growth of new cultures. Christian Science and New Thought commended themselves to many for whom the older churches had ceased to have an appealing message. Ethical culture and spiritualism attracted each its select group. Specialists in the future catastrophes that should attend the second coming of Christ had small group meetings and tried to interest outsiders. Russellites and Zionists and Nazarenes and Latter Day Saints added to the complexity. Jews and Mohammedans, swamis from India, and Buddhists or Confucianists from the Pacific coast of Asia, added their quota. And besides all these were socialists and communists with their economic and social gospels which should take the place of the Christian religion. Finally those who were not satisfied with any of these, but like the Seekers of the sixteenth century found themselves lonely in the midst of religious plenty, came together as

individuals and experimented with a community church, independent and undefiled by any particular ism or creed of past or present. Such is the kaleidoscope of urban religion in America.

THE PROBLEM OF CHURCH EFFICIENCY

The severer the competition in business the greater the efficiency that was required for success. It was similar in the churches. It became necessary to get a succession of ministers who could preach so as to attract the moving crowd, to provide music which would entertain audiences, to stage revivals with flaming evangelists so as to stir volatile emotions, to liberate social energy with church suppers and entertainments. Sunday school machinery was speeded up, young people's societies organized, clubs for boys and girls introduced, Scout troops equipped and trained and put into active operation. Men's classes were formed to give loyal support to the church, as Rotary and Kiwanis clubs stimulated loyalty to the business interests of the community. Women's missionary and charitable circles were metamorphosed into church unions which functioned more capably. New methods and new machinery were devised as fast as new inventions revolutionized industry. And with the discovery of new opportunities at home went a growing realization that religious efforts on the national and international field must be expanded and made more efficient, and missionary boards made their surveys, improved their procedure, and speeded up their machinery.

In all the bustle of increased activity the churches did not lose sight of their main purpose. They did not stop often to inquire how they should function or what were the theories of waste and efficiency. They sensed the needs rather than reasoned about them. They were aware that evangelism and religious education both had place in a Christian church, and they improved both as they learned from experience. They learned to distinguish between professional and pastoral and visitation evangelism. They became wise in teacher training and vacation Bible schools and plans of week-day education. They gained a new appreciation of the values of ritual and church architecture, and found more room for the beautiful in church worship and less liking for the lilt and jazz of the concert and dance hall, and the spiritual and mystical was not lost, though the prayer meetings declined.

The stress put on scientific management in business was reflected

in one denomination of churches, which appointed a state committee to examine the efficiency of the local churches. The committee duly reported in favor of simple organization of well-adjusted parts of a thoroughly articulated system, definite planning antecedent to the activities of the organization, more functional organization and less reliance on speeding-up methods, and greater care in following up individual cases to see that results come out of the various activities of the church. The city church in America is coming to be conducted on business lines and business men demand business efficiency, though the administration is still in the hands of a minister as general manager. He keeps business hours in a church office with a secretary and a telephone at his elbow, church visitors report to him at intervals, and he is in touch with the various organizations of his church and with the leading social agencies of the city. He has been ordained to be a priest and prophet of things spiritual and on Sundays he resumes his proper rôle, but between times he must be a business manager during the day, a social mixer during the evening, and if any time is left he may visit the sick in his parish or hear the misfortunes of those who come to his confessional. It is becoming more and more of a mystery how he prepares his sermons. The problem of church efficiency is resolving itself into the problem of ministerial agility. It is more serious than it appears on the surface, for it is a problem which involves the spiritual life of the Christian people. It is difficult for the harried urban minister of the twentieth century to catch a spiritual vision, but without a vision the people will perish. The problem of business efficiency must soon resolve itself into a problem of spiritual efficiency.

THE PROBLEM OF THOUGHT

The churches in America have been so busy doing things that they have not taken much time to think. Thought has been left to the theologians, and they have been content most of the time to thresh over old controversies. Under the stimulus of contemporary publications religious leaders have grappled with current problems of thought in these later years with the consequence that acute differences of opinion have developed inside the denominations.

The divergence between the medieval and the modern mind had paid its toll in controversy ever since the Reformation. Always the liberal tended to depart from the norm of the creed or confession, in his interpretation if not in his literal adherence. From the time of

Vincent of Lerins the conservative was anxious to adhere to that which had been believed by everybody always and everywhere. The liberal had a liking for novel interpretations. Apart from the natural disposition new issues were forcing new decisions. Scientists in one branch after another were discovering facts and laws which did not agree with former conclusions about the Bible and church history, about nature and presumably about nature's God. Rationalism again demanded changes in theology.

LIBERALS AND FUNDAMENTALISTS

The old controversy between authority and freedom, between modernism and medievalism, was revived in the decade of the World War in the controversy between the liberals and the fundamentalists, as the two groups were called. The fundamentalists saw church people slipping away from their ancient moorings. The old doctrines of sin and salvation, of future retribution and atonement, were being lost out of the new theology. The evolutionary emphasis in science tended to excuse the beastly in man because of his animal descent. A humanist philosophy argued in favor of his ability to rise as a man to the dignity of a god. The authority of Scripture was abandoned for the authority of the laboratory, and the Protestant doctrine of freedom of interpretation became freedom to reject anything that did not harmonize with the latest conclusions of the best thought. It seemed worst of all that the colleges and theological seminaries should be affected by modern opinions and so should indoctrinate the churches.

Fundamentalists vigorously challenged the historical and scientific conclusions of the religious liberals, insisting on the authority of the whole Bible and the old theology, with special emphasis on the doctrines of the virgin birth of Jesus, his substitutionary atonement and his bodily resurrection, with a tendency to expect his imminent return to the earth in bodily form to establish an earthly kingdom. The fundamentalists were disturbed especially by the current denial of supernaturalism, which reduces man to an impotent machine without any endowment of consciousness and will, subject entirely to the laws of physical nature, as a jellyfish or a butterfly. They felt that every liberal tendency in religion threatened to destroy belief in a personal God, in immortality, and in any sort of spiritual reality. They therefore attacked the schools and established Bible schools to counteract the influence of liberal institutions. They called confer-

ences and made plans of campaign. They carried on publicity through newspapers and books. They brought the issue before state legislatures, asking that teachers of evolution be banned from educational institutions. They formulated tests of orthodoxy. They tried to get control of the machinery of certain denominations. They gathered strength enough in America to threaten division in the ranks of Presbyterians and Baptists, to secure state laws debarring the teaching of evolution, and to establish schools of theology in which their own tenets would be taught.

The liberals felt no such concern about danger, because to them religion was not a structure to be saved so much as it was a progress to be achieved, not a doctrine to be believed but a life to be experienced. The scientific method with its application in Biblical criticism made them trust the reality of experience rather than the authority of Scripture. If they could know God themselves and bring others to him, it mattered little whether they retained the old theological dogmas or not. They were as concerned to understand human nature through the study of psychology as to delve into theology to get at the meaning of the divine nature. Most of all they would go back to Christ to learn the workings of his mind, to feel the throb of his sympathy, to know spiritual reality because he made it real. Incarnation and atonement alike were as nothing to the personal experience of his abiding love and comradeship. They went to Christ with Ritschl as a former generation had gone to Schleiermacher. They prized the value judgments about Christ's revelation that the thinkers of the Ritschlian school had made. And they found moral and social values that transcended for them the importance of the metaphysical discussions of Nicea or Westminster. The liberals could not refute the charge that they did not agree on any confession of faith or could even define some of the things about which they were not sure. Some of them were warmly evangelical in their faith in Christ as a Savior. Most of them were theists, but an increasing number of them maintained an agnostic attitude and were content with the name of humanists. They were liberals because of their attitude of open-mindedness toward all questions in dispute.

The current problem of religious thought is a problem of fundamentals, but Christians differ as to what the fundamentals are. To the Catholic it has always been basic to accept the authority of the Church and apostolic tradition. To the Episcopalian it is essential that one should abide by the Bible and the ancient creeds and accept

the leadership and direction of an authorized body of clergy. To the orthodox Protestant it is fundamental that the Bible is the authentic revelation of God in Christ, and that any departure from the orthodox doctrines of the sixteenth century is disloyalty to the truth. The eighteenth century brought to the front an evangelical movement which emphasized the Saviorhood of Jesus Christ and the necessity of conversion to a sense of spiritual dependence on him. To an evangelical the experience of sins forgiven is the cardinal element in religion. The problem of current thought is to preserve the Christian experience of conscious harmony in spirit and purpose with a God Who forgives and loves like Jesus, while at the same time retaining an urge to know more about His purpose in the world, to feel the divine sympathy for the unfortunate and the ignorant, and to strive not only for personal salvation but for the progress of His spiritual reign in human hearts to-day as well as in a future kingdom in the heavens. History proves that rationalism brings the danger of loss of faith in the God of revelation as well as in revelation itself, in a cold and critical as well as an honest attitude toward questions at issue, in a satisfaction with that which appeals to the intellect rather than that which warms the heart. What all are seeking is a faith that can command the allegiance and the energies of the whole personality and mold it into the image of the Christian God. To that end His people of every name are making their way along the highway of Christian history.

QUESTIONS

For study

1. What have been the effects of the World War on Catholic fortunes in Europe?
2. Explain the success of the Youth Movement. What are the different organizations on the Continent?
3. How are the churches related to social questions? to missions?
4. Explain the origin of the Free churches on the Continent. Why have they not grown faster?
5. Why is there a problem of the rural churches in America? Is it being faced squarely?
6. What is the urban problem? How is it being met?
7. What are the values of the Young Men's Christian Association?
8. How have business methods reacted on the churches?
9. What is the content of liberal thought?
10. Is fundamentalism merely obstructionist or does it stand for permanent values in its opposition to liberal thinking in religion?

For class discussion or debate

1. How far do the basic principles of fundamentalism agree with Catholicism?
2. Has Christian Science elements of permanence?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

For brief themes or oral review

1. The Waldensians in Italy.
2. The Stundists in Russia.
3. John B. Gough.
4. Pastor Russell.

For longer written essays

1. The attitude of Soviet Russia toward the Orthodox Church.
2. The significance of the Youth Movement in Germany.
3. The Free churches in France.
4. The effects of European immigration upon downtown churches in eastern cities in America.
5. The community church movement.

For conference and examination

1. A theology for Christian Science.

READING REFERENCES

Sources

Town and Country Surveys
 St. Louis Survey
 BRUNNER. Country Churches of Distinction
 GILL AND PINCHOT. Six Thousand Country Churches

Secondary Guides

KELLER AND STEWART. Protestant Europe
 FISKE. Challenge of the Country Church
 DOUGLASS. The Church in the Changing City
 TRAWICK. The City Church and Its Social Mission
 SMITH. Current Christian Thinking
 MACHEN. Christianity and Liberalism
 PATTON. Fundamental Christianity

CHRONOLOGY

31 B.C.-476 A.D.	The Roman Empire
29 A.D.	Death of Jesus
70	Destruction of Jerusalem
100	End of the Apostolic Period
110	Trajan Persecution
150	Justin Martyr

- 180 Irenæus and the ancient Catholic Church
- 200 Clement of Alexandria. Tertullian
- 250 Origen. Cyprian
- 284 Reorganization of the empire by Diocletian
- 305 The severest persecution of the Christians
- 313 The Edict of Milan ending persecution
- 325 Council of Nicea, first ecumenical council of the Church
- 350 Athanasius
- 381 First Council of Constantinople settles the Arian controversy
- 390 Jerome. Ambrose
- 410 Augustine. Visigoths sack Rome
- 431 Council of Ephesus condemns Nestorianism
- 451 Council of Chalcedon. Pope Leo I
- 476 End of the Roman Empire in the West
- 529 Benedictine Rule for the monks
- 533 Justinian, Byzantine emperor. New law code
- 600 Pope Gregory I. Mission to England
- 622 Beginning of the Mohammedan era
- 664 Synod of Whitby connects England with Rome
- 711-717 Mohammedans enter Spain, checked at Constantinople
- 732 Battle of Tours. Boniface the missionary
- 752 Carolingian dynasty of the Franks
- 755 Beginning of temporal power of the papacy
- 800 Charlemagne revives the Roman Empire
- 910 Founding of the reformed monastery of Cluny
- 962 Holy Roman Empire of Otto I
- 1000 Pope Sylvester II
- 1054 Separation of Eastern and Western churches
- 1059 College of cardinals to elect the pope
- 1066 Norman conquest of England
- 1075 Investiture controversy. Pope Gregory VII
- 1096 First Crusade
- 1100 Anselm. Abelard
- 1122 Concordat of Worms settles the investiture controversy
- 1176 Battle of Legnano
- 1215 Magna Carta. Fourth Lateran Council. Innocent III. Francis of Assisi
- 1232 The Inquisition
- 1265 Beginning of the House of Commons in England. Thomas Aquinas
- 1300 Dante
- 1309-1376 The papacy at Avignon
- 1378 The Great Schism. John Wycliffe
- 1409-1449 The reforming councils
- 1415 John Huss condemned at the Council of Constance
- 1438 Introduction of printing

- 1453 Fall of Constantinople to the Mohammedans
- 1492 Columbus discovers America
- 1517 Luther's Ninety-five Theses
- 1519 Charles V, Emperor of Germany
- 1521 Diet of Worms condemns Luther
- 1524 Peasants' War
- 1530 Augsburg Confession. Zwingli at Zurich
- 1534 English rejection of the papacy
- 1540 The Jesuits
- 1541 Calvin master at Geneva
- 1545-1563 Council of Trent
- 1555 Peace of Augsburg between Lutherans and Catholics
in Germany
- 1558-1603 Elizabethan Age in England
- 1560 John Knox organizes the Scotch Reformed Church
- 1566 Outbreak of Dutch Revolution
- 1572 Massacre of St. Bartholomew
- 1577 Formula of Concord
- 1588 Spanish Armada fails against England
- 1598 Edict of Nantes grants toleration to French Protestants
- 1611 Authorized Version of the English Bible
- 1618 Synod of Dort. Thirty Years' War
- 1620 Settlement of Plymouth in Massachusetts
- 1630 Puritans in Massachusetts Bay
- 1643 Westminster Assembly
- 1648 Peace of Westphalia
- 1653 Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England
- 1662 Act of Uniformity. Clarendon Code
- 1675 Pietism in Germany
- 1685 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes
- 1689 Toleration Act in England
- 1740 Great Awakening in England and America. Wesley
- 1773 Jesuit Order dissolved (Restored in 1814)
- 1789 French Revolution
- 1792 Baptist Missionary Society in England. Carey
- 1833 Oxford movement
- 1843 Free Church of Scotland
- 1845 Separation of American churches over slavery
- 1859 Publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*
- 1870 Vatican Council
- 1910 Edinburgh Conference
- 1920 Lambeth Conference
- 1929 Concordat between Italy and the Papacy

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